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THE cruel military parade goes on. Helpless in the face of the German refusal to work for France, Poincaré attempts to still his critics by fresh gestures of martial magnificence. His troops have occupied the cities of Darmstadt, Mannheim, and Karlsruhe—as a reply to sabotage in the Ruhr, he announces. As a reply to something else somewhere else he may occupy Germany piece by piece, but in the long run France will have to pay. Sir Philip Gibbs, whose record certainly is one of intimate sympathy with France, writes of the French action:

> Out of that hatred which she is inflaming every hour of the day in German hearts and out of that despair she is causing in every country dependent upon German industry for its own prosperity there will come one day fearful retribution. . . . It seems to me impossible to defend French brutality in Germany because the Germans were brutal in France. If that defense is adopted then it is an abandonment of all chivalry and all decency, to say nothing at all about Christian ideals in a world that crucifies Christ day by day. Gentlemen and decent folk do not imitate the manners of those who behave like brutes. They do not insult a man's mother or children because he has been rude to them. They do not flog defenseless folk because their employers have cheated them. That is what France is doing in Germany. . . . There is only one logical, inevitable result of the French resolution to smash Germany to bits. That is anarchy, revolt, and war, in which France will be attacked from enemies within as well as without. For her own sake there must be intervention and arbitration before events drift on to their final crash.

GREAT BRITAIN'S wishy-washy attitude of friendly disapproval of the French policy in the Ruhr may be galvanized as a result of two by-elections in which members of the Bonar Law Cabinet have been defeated. One at least of these elections was fought largely on the Ruhr issue. France has given England abundant opportunity for vigorous protest; the English Government has already informed the French that their action in occupying territory between the Rhine bridgeheads and in Baden was illegal under the Treaty of Versailles. Meanwhile our news is being poisoned at the source. Most of the German newspapers in the Ruhr have been suppressed; and American correspondents are largely dependent for their news upon French news bureaus, which, as an indignant American correspondent explains in detail in the *Editor and Publisher*, are frequently totally false. In addition to this the London correspondent of the New York *World* cables that the French Government has decided to spend large sums upon propaganda in American magazines and newspapers.

FOR clear-cut thinking, ably expressed, commend us to the memorandum sent to the President by the Willard Straight Post of the American Legion, part of which we print elsewhere in this issue. Its knowledge of European conditions merits the high praise bestowed upon it by Senator Borah. Could the heads of the Legion think and write like this about our foreign and domestic affairs, diagnose as certainly the European situation and the only road open at this moment to a settlement of its ills, the whole status of the Legion would change and there would be real hope that it would justify its existence. The Willard Straight Post sees clearly the folly of the Ruhr invasion and whither it is leading all Europe, and urges the President to call an international conference of all the nations at once. And the President? Well, he is resting.

UPON the tombstone of this much-belabored Sixty-seventh Congress we would hang a wreath inscribed "It might have been worse." It opened with the Harding Administration in triumphant self-confidence, overwhelming Republican majorities in both houses, and sound old guardsmen in command. There was every reason to look for the most reactionary Congress in decades. It began its work, in orthodox fashion, by boosting the tariff barrier, thereby raising prices in this country and increasing the difficulty of reconstruction in Europe. It hemmed and hawed for months about the soldier's bonus and passed it only when assured that the President would veto it. It

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ratified the separate peace with Germany, and approved Mr. Hughes's naval-disarmament treaties and his Pacific Pact. It did not have the courage to return alien property in full, but it voted to return trusts up to $10,000 seized from Germans during the war. One filibuster was allowed to kill the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill, for which Republican support was lukewarm at best, but another fortunately saved the country the burden of the ship subsidy. Appropriations were voted rather blindly, granting far too much to the army and navy, but at least the budget system was in the main accepted. In its last days it voted a compromise rural-credits bill. The act which would have most become the final days of a lame-duck Congress failed. Senator Norris's proposed constitutional amendment convening a new Congress in the January after its election instead of December passed the Senate but died in the House. It is preposterous that a date set before the telegraph or the railroad was dreamed of should still make it possible to postpone the effects of an election for a full year.

"GEE, it's great to be crazy." This quotation from Eva Tanguay was Mr. Lasker's way of winding up a statement he made at the House hearing on the original ship-subsidy bill. "I had really only been a regular advertising expert until I came down here to handle the shipping. I was the only man who would take this job," was Mr. Lasker's engaging confession. Well, though Mr. Lasker and Mr. Harding did their best to put it through Congress, the bill is dead at last, for which devout thanks. No application of partisan whipsnapping should be allowed to revive it. That the failure of the bill has profoundly discouraged our shipbuilders and some operators we must admit; their plight is extremely difficult, and there will be little to encourage them until Europe settles down—if it ever does—and the world's normal trade returns. But the plight of no such group is sufficiently grievous now to warrant the unsound and dangerous policy of government subventions to private profit-making industries. In the long run any artificial trade prosperity is hurtful; no business which depends upon government pap, which may or may not be revoked by any succeeding Congress, is in else but a parlous state. Nobody desires to see our flag upon the seven seas more ardently than does *The Nation*, but it cannot conquer the oceans until the basis for its appearance is economically sound. The Germans, English, and Scandinavians built up their fleets virtually without subsidies; so did the Americans before the Civil War, and they can again. Other efforts merit Mr. Lasker's self-description—"It's great to be crazy."

THERE is little favorable to be said about the President's latest appointments. The appointment of Senator Harry S. New as Postmaster General once more turns over that unfortunate Department to a politician, discredited by his own State, who has in no wise demonstrated that he has any executive or business capacity whatsoever. So we shall soon be told again that a profitable administration of this Department, which has now had four executives in two years, is impossible under government management! We do not admire the temper or tone of the ex-Postmaster General, Mr. Work, who now becomes Secretary of the Interior, but he cannot fail to be a vast improvement upon his immediate predecessor, Mr. Fall. Porto Rico gains by the recent nominations because the impossible E. Mont Reily, having at last resigned, is succeeded by Congressman Horace M. Towner, of Iowa, for years one of the most useful members of the House Committee on Insular Affairs, particularly in matters relating to the Virgin Islands. But even the appointment of a capable Congressman takes on the character of a grim jest when we recall how we were told at the time of the annexation of the Philippines that the conquest of colonies would insure us a fine class of non-political administrators for our far-flung possessions. Congressman Mondell of Wyoming, a real lame duck, obtains a nice position as a director of the War Finance Corporation. Several of the new Federal judges, like Judge McGee of Minnesota, are unworthy; and as for the appointment of Alexander P. Moore, lately publisher of the Pittsburgh *Leader*, as Ambassador to Spain—of all countries the most formal, dignified and courtly in its official intercourse—that is a ghastly joke on the Spaniards and on ourselves.

OUT in Centralia, Washington, Elmer S. Smith, attorney and advocate of industrial freedom, was recently arrested just as he was about to make an address, not because of anything he had said but "because," the police explained, "of the possibility of arousing antagonism." Although the meeting had opened with a reading of the First Amendment to the Constitution and a statement by Mr. Smith that he was glad to see certain city officials present to insure an orderly meeting, since he did not care to speak at anything but an orderly meeting, he was not given the chance to exercise his rights according to the portion of the Constitution just read. Washington's criminal syndicalism law puts any one who is so much as a member of the I. W. W. in jail, regardless of his behavior. Meanwhile the membership of the I. W. W. is reported to be increasing rapidly, and in California at least an early repeal of the criminal syndicalism law—under which not one person accused of committing any act of violence has been convicted—seems likely. The distinction between word and deed was an integral part of our pre-war tradition of free speech and should argue for the repeal of all gag-laws and of all gagging. It was a great day in the history of America when a group of men invaded feudal Logan County, West Virginia, the other day and by their sheer courage and the knowledge that the country was watching, forced Sheriff Don Chafin to let them hold a public meeting where all miners' meetings had been barred. The cause of free speech is looking up. Senator Borah postponed his sailing to Europe in order to address an amnesty meeting in the Lexington Theater, New York City, on March 11. Even Mr. Daugherty listens when Senator Borah speaks.

THERE has been an interesting strike in New York City. The leading department stores boycotted the New York *Times* because it again raised its advertising rates. After a battle of three weeks Mr. Ochs surrendered, compromising on an increase of one cent a line. Since the New York *Times* is credibly reported to have made two million dollars, net, last year, in addition to paying off mortgages aggregating millions, and since its columns were crowded during the strike with advertisements bringing higher rates than dry-goods advertising, this surrender to the department stores does not inure to its credit. Indeed, it was easy for Mr. Ochs to prove that the rates he had asked were no higher in proportion to its circulation than those of some of the other great money-making dailies. The fact that these advertisers act together, and can even bring

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to its knees the most powerful daily in New York, is something that cannot be overlooked by students of the independence of our journals. The incident recalls the boycott of the New York *Evening Post* years ago by these same advertisers, because they did not like some opinions it voiced and the manner in which it expressed them.

IT is an encouraging fact that despite the inclination to discriminate against Jews which manifests itself here and there in our colleges the very people who whisper about the "Jewish invasion" and suggest limitation in private are ashamed publicly to defend their position. Just what happened at the meeting of the Senior Council at Syracuse University we do not know. The question of limitation of Jews was discussed; it does not much matter how. The significant thing is that the chancellor and students fell upon each other's necks in an ecstasy of denial. Reports from Cambridge indicate that while the flurry is not all over Harvard is becoming a little ashamed of itself for having taken President Lowell's fears so seriously. After all the old American tradition is not dead, and the discussion has made many educators beside President Judson of the University of Chicago realize that "an institution of learning is primarily for those who want learning, without regard to sex, race, or social status," and to ask his question, "Are we to conduct an institution of learning or an amusement park?" In time even Columbia and New York universities may come to their senses.

FORTUNE bestowed upon the late Congressman Bourke Cockran a glorious voice and an eloquence which ought to have made him one of the greatest orators the country has ever known. Unfortunately, this wonderful gift was not complemented by strength and stability of character. He began wrong, and out of gravely perilous circumstances was rescued by Richard Croker, the boss of Tammany Hall, who had an Irishman's appreciation of a silver tongue. But Cockran did not become a mere Tammany Hall tool. There were times in his career when he deserved well of the Republic, notably for his magnificent fight against our overseas imperialism at the time we conquered the Filipinos and imposed our rule upon them, and latterly when he made a magnificent speech on behalf of our political prisoners. But on most public questions he wabbled; nor did he have a real understanding of the fundamental economic causes of our national distress. So he must be added to the list of those who have failed to live up to their own talents.

THE effort of Justice Ford of the Supreme Court of New York to change the State law which governs the publication and sale of obscene literature has been greeted with derision by the press. It is so preposterous that it arouses the spirit of satire. But those who oppose the bill which has been introduced at Albany may find themselves laughing out of the wrong side of the mouth if they do not make their opposition active and practical. The worst features of the proposed bill are first, that any book might be condemned for a single sentence or phrase, whereas now it must be judged as a whole; and, second, the meaning of the word obscenity would be stretched beyond its present legal limits, which are indefinite enough, to include anything that may be offensive to squeamish taste or to an overstrained morality. It is beside the point to appeal to the classics and to rest with learned assurance upon Shakespeare and the Bible. They are safe. The problem is not old literature but new literature, the protection of tomorrow's book and play and picture (moving or static) against unwarranted interference. It is also beside the point to argue that Mr. Justice Ford is notoriously not one of the wisest judges on the bench and that the societies whose support he has enlisted are whatever you like to call them. The real point is that they are organized and can have great influence with the New York Assembly. The way to meet organization is with organization. There should be formed a committee of writers and publishers and disinterestedly interested citizens to fight Justice Ford's bill. And it should be done soon.

THE Legal Aid Society, which has lately gone into the Olympian—or, rather, the Sinaian—business of issuing decalogues, has just published ten rules for wives as an aid toward a "reasonably happy married life." We have no dispute with this group of worthy uplifters—though we suspect them, one and all, of being single, male, and readers of the woman's page of the New York *Journal*. It may be that if wives were never extravagant, always smiling, tactful, complimentary, feminine, devoted to housekeeping, and quick to rebuff the "friendly attentions" of other men, marriage would be a "reasonably" smooth-running institution; but it would be smooth with the deadly smoothness of a Jersey swamp glazed over with Bayonne oil. In such a sycophantic Eden, Eve would have no time to climb trees or chase monkeys; she would be too busy tidying up the cave for her "nerve-racked" Adam and sewing thumbtacks on his garment. And Adam—with nothing to look forward to in life but a daily encounter with a bright smile and pretty coaxing ways—Adam, we think, would notify his Creator that it was all a mistake and would die of galloping ennui, thus finally abolishing the human race. Let us all beware of these reasonably happy marriages!

"I WISH to be buried with the least possible delay, and in the simplest manner, being laid in the ground wrapped in my old Eastern traveling carpet, and without coffin or casket of any kind, at a spot in Newbuildings Wood known to my executors, without religious or other ceremony or intervention of strangers but the men employed on my Newbuildings estate." Wilfrid Scawen Blunt's will was typical of the man, the aristocrat, traveler, poet, diplomatist, revolutionary, and horse breeder. Wills are seldom more fascinating human documents. He left a black tin box of manuscripts to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, to be opened thirty years after his death—readers of his diaries will yearn for the swift passage of those thirty years. Two hundred pounds he left to the Quakers of Thakeham in token of sympathy with "their faithful opposition to military service during the late war as during former wars"; like sums go to the Franciscan Monastery at Crawley, where his brother and sister are buried, and to the professor of Arabic at Cambridge "as a subscription to any mosque that may be built by the voluntary subscriptions of Mohammedans in London." To Lady Gregory he left the Donan Bible used by him when imprisoned in Galway for his activities in favor of Irish independence, and his 1574 edition of Froissart's "Chronicles" he left to Hilaire Belloc. His will, like his life, bears the strong stamp of one of the few true aristocrats.

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Stupidity: The Strangler of Europe

SURVEYING steadily collapsing Europe as a whole, what is the one outstanding fact? Why, the total bankruptcy of statesmanship; the total inability of the controlling spirits of the governments to grapple successfully with any phase of the problem which confronts the Allied and ex-enemy countries, precisely as in Washington Mr. Hughes and Mr. Harding can think of nothing better to do than to mark time, in the hope, perhaps, that the disastrous invasion of the Ruhr will so quickly react upon France herself that someone will soon be asked to arbitrate or intervene.

The Ruhr invasion has been called by responsible Englishmen the greatest crime in the history of Europe. To us it is also the greatest of stupidities. It illustrates afresh the lack of intelligence and foresight in the men who are directing France's destinies to disaster. It matters not what the real motive is, whether reparations, or the dismemberment and ruin of Germany, or a desire to drive the German iron and steel magnates into alliance with French big-business men in which the German capitalists will be vassals and the German laborers mere slaves. Whatever the motive, whatever the purpose, the crass stupidity remains the same. It is confessed every hour as France day by day shifts her ground. At first the invasion was to be of a few engineers guarded by sufficient troops to protect them. Next, it was to be occupation of mines and industrial districts; then it was to be operation of the mines and plants; next, complete occupation. Then came the entire cutting off of the Ruhr; then, the operation of all the railroads temporarily; now they are to be operated indefinitely. On February 19 the *Times's* dispatch read: "Poincaré Says Ruhr Won't Be Exploited"; on March 10 it is the universal admission that the Ruhr *will* be exploited.

It has now gone so far that General Degoutte, who by his utterances seems to be as brutal a swashbuckler as ever disgraced a military uniform, declares that France will never get out until the last cent of her debt is paid by Germany. Every hour, so the foreign correspondents report, the number of innocent Germans abused or killed by frightened or inexperienced troops increases; every hour the danger of a terrible explosion comes nearer. It is the same old military stupidity that marked from beginning to end the German occupation of Belgium and that has repeatedly marked the British occupation of India and Egypt, the Japanese occupation of Siberia, and the American occupation of Santo Domingo and Haiti.

So M. Poincaré, the author of this devil's brew, is compelled to confess a serious check after six weeks of that occupation which was to have terrified the Germans and to have made them increase the amount of their reparations. The truth is that it has now come down to a war of attrition; the "cowardly" Germans are to be conquered only by sheer exhaustion and hunger, if at all. The French are obtaining almost no coal, instead of two million tons a month. Confusion on the railroads, the correspondent of the *World* telegraphs, "increases instead of diminishing." The German workmen are increasingly hostile, and leadership of the passive resistance has gone from the German Government and the Nationalist parties into the hands of the trade unions. The Paris correspondent of the *World* cables soberly that the existence of both republics has been jeopardized by the experiment. "The French soldier is deprived of every amenity of civilized life. . . . No civilian man, woman, or child will speak to him . . . he grows more bored, nervous, and scared every day."

And this is called enlightened and intelligent statesmanship! The American supporters of the French have admitted from the first that the proof of the Ruhr pudding would be the eating; that the success of the invasion would be its complete justification. Its results have been so disastrous that these supporters are now compelled to fall back upon the whining excuse that the French have not yet been in the Ruhr long enough to "organize it," by which they mean that the French must have months to reorganize what they have *disorganized*. So they pour in more troops, more heavy guns, more tanks, more airplanes. Every one of the soldiers increases the debt of Germany, for these costs are to be charged against her. Every dollar so wasted puts off further and further the payment of reparations.

If this is the supreme of stupidity, the utter collapse of leadership we have seen at Lausanne and elsewhere is not far behind it. What a debacle is there! The Turks were told that there would be war if they refused to sign the treaty handed to them. They refused. Nothing happens. They threaten to attack the fleet at Smyrna. Nothing happens. There are rumors of more negotiations. Nothing happens. The *status quo* in Turkey is menaced? Well, nothing happens. The only thing that has happened is that Lausanne has joined the long list of utterly futile conferences, beginning with Versailles, which have marked the downfall of Europe. If there are dread Fates spinning their webs somewhere as they observe this paralysis of statesmanship, they must be telling off these conferences as the old women at the foot of the guillotines in the French Revolution interrupted their knitting just long enough to count the heads as they fell. Versailles, Spa, San Remo, Brussels, Genoa, the Hague, London, Paris, Lausanne; one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten—they all tell the same story of hopes unfulfilled, evils unremedied, problems unsolved, unity unattained. Futility, futility, futility! Meanwhile, Europe sags steadily downward, burning up her assets, wasting precious natural resources, menaced by unemployment, consumed by a rising passion of hatred and bitterness, and talking of nothing but more war, war, war. All for lack of charity and good will and forgiveness of sins! All because of the belief in vengeance, in punishment as a curative, a healing power. All because of the belief that brute force is supreme in the world; that brutality rules, that might and right are one and the same.

And America is to look on and do nothing. The curse of ineptitude and stupidity which rests upon all the leading Allied governments rests upon our own. Such intelligence as there is in Washington has abdicated. With Europe plunging to destruction, with the French running amuck, with their militarism menacing civilization itself, our President goes to Florida for a month, and his Secretary of State refuses to tell the American public what he is about, what he has planned, or if he is thinking and planning at all. It is one of Balzac's characters who says: "There are no scaffolds, no executioners for rich men." To which the reply comes "You mistake; they are their own executioners." What else can be feared for those who today conduct the affairs of the dominant nations?

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How Old Is Man?

SCIENCE is having its day in the press. Hard upon the accounts of the recent finds in Egypt, public interest is stirred by the blazing of a star and by the news from Patagonia that a skull has been discovered which seems to belong to the Tertiary Age. Cosmic events and evidences of the early history of man are, it appears, once more excellent newspaper "copy."

Interest in the origin of man is not a new thing. Even before paleontology had attained the rank of a science, Scheuchzer believed he had found the remains of a man "witness of the Deluge." Scientific investigation of the problem began with the discovery of a skeleton in the Neanderthal in western Germany. Here was a skull type which could not readily be associated with modern European man and was at once claimed as an early, extinct form. The cautious Virchow was reluctant to proclaim this single specimen as proof of a new type of human, particularly since he believed that he had discovered in it many pathological traits. However, when similar specimens were found in Belgium, France, and Moravia the existence of an Ice-Age population was established beyond cavil. In the course of time discoveries were made which pushed the period of the appearance of man back into still earlier times. Dr. Dubois discovered in Java remains which, while similar to man, were so distinct in form that they had to be considered as a separate type, which was named the Pithecanthropus Erectus, the ape-man walking erect.

Continued search in ancient gravel beds and other deposits belonging to the early Ice Age finally yielded, in the sands near Heidelberg, the jaw of a human form, a fragment which belongs to a being much more primitive than the Neanderthal race. Additional finds in England suggest the occurrence of a distinctive type in this early period, and recent evidence points to the presence of man even before the Ice Age, at the end of the Tertiary Period. We may now safely estimate that man has lived in Europe for at least 150,000 years.

Since all the manlike apes are found in the Old World, it seems probable that the human species developed in that section of the globe. Quite recently, however, a single tooth found in the West of this country has been ascribed to a manlike ape, but it is the only indication of the presence of man-apes thus far found on the American continent. The long search for human remains belonging to the Ice Age in America has not yet yielded results accepted by careful investigators. No form has been found indicating a human type anatomically different from the modern American aborigines. While scientists in North America are still skeptical in regard to alleged Quaternary (Ice Age) finds, a South American scientist, Ameghino, has claimed that in Patagonia man existed together with extinct animal forms belonging to the late Tertiary or early Quaternary. His evidence, however, is not entirely satisfactory.

It remains to be seen whether Dr. Wolf's find in Patagonia will alter our views in regard to the early occurrence of man in America. If the fossilized skull which this investigator reports finding in the possession of a settler is really what he believes it to be, we shall have to conclude that man existed in America in the days when the present polar regions were semi-tropical and enormous reptiles dominated the world.

The Masters of the Word

F. HORACE TEALL, whose death was announced the other day, was of a race of great proofreaders. He illustrated well the theory that great proofreaders are born and not made, yet his two brothers were almost equally remarkable. The spell of the word rested literally upon them. They lived with and for words, and made their living by doing so. Horace Teall was one of the compilers of the Century Dictionary, the author of a book called "The Compounding of English Words," the editor of Johnson's Encyclopedia, the definer of words for Webster's New International Dictionary and the New Standard Dictionary. For thirty years he conducted a department in the *Inland Printer*, entitled Proof Room Notes and Queries. The public conception of a proofreader may be that he is a hack who has mastered the mechanical art of spelling; no one could know the Tealls and not know better.

Some of the best of our younger publishers seem to consider the expert proofreader a needless luxury; editors know that a good proofreader is not only indispensable, but an artist in his own, and, at his best, in other languages. A really able one knows everything; he must have a perfectly astounding knowledge of the classical languages, of literature, of history, of the names of public men in all countries. He must catch an error in the patronymic of every north or south polar explorer. He may not have read a book of Darwin's, but he must know their titles and the spelling thereof. As he reads, he must challenge the statements of the greatest and most dogmatic of authors and editors. More than that, every self-respecting office has its cherished idiosyncrasies, which he must observe.

Many are the difficult problems to be solved. When is a foreign word sufficiently naturalized to abandon italics? Sauerkraut and camouflage are obviously well domesticated in English, and so are clientele and matinee, but nationalistic proofreaders often stand on ceremony and adorn the latter with accents. Mighty battles have been waged upon the capitalization of a single word such as "government." Every good editor or proofreader has his pet hates and his suppressed desires; neither has the divine afflatus if he is not willing to fight to the last ditch for his hobbies. And he is an exceptional editor, indeed, who does not at times horrify his proofreader by violating his own rules. To the real artist in proofreading the error leaps out from the page and enters the eye before the eye itself has time to focus upon it. It is intuition, inspiration, second sight, a sixth sense which guides him, but, sad to say, even the best of proofreaders is bound once in a while to let something slip. Then the editor has his inning and the last word.

Many of the matters over which editors and proofreaders stickle are changing while they argue. Calverley put it:

> Forever! 'T is a single word!
> Our rude forefathers deemed it two.
> Can you imagine so absurd
> A view?
>
> Forever! What abysms of woe
> The word reveals, what frenzy, what
> Despair! For ever (printed so)
> Does not.
>
> Forever! 'T is a single word!
> Our rude forefathers deemed it two;
> Nor am I confident they erred;
> Are you?

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A Debate on the Ruhr

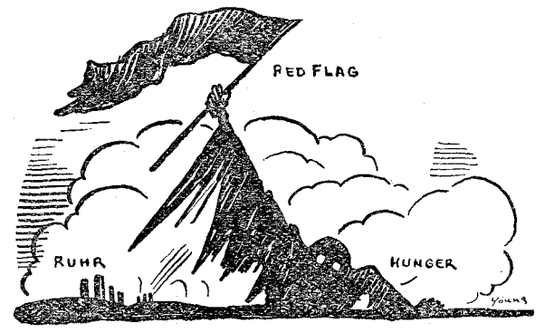
For the Invasion

By JOHN F. O'RYAN

Major General 27th Division, A.E.F.

I AM one of those who believe that the action of the French Government in taking over the Ruhr was justified. I believe also that it was necessary. I am of this opinion in spite of a deep regret that the critical condition of affairs in Europe is further complicated by the action taken.

The damage done by the invasion of the Ruhr is on the human side of the problem. Throughout history the perpetuation of war has been aided by the passions engendered by the "last war." Whenever the war party in a country has sought to bring on war, the problem has been simplified by the existence of dormant hatreds and desires for revenge which were products of a previous war and which needed only a skilful propaganda to make them flame into war again. And so an unfortunate circumstance of the French invasion of the Ruhr will be the birth of new hatreds and further yearnings for revenge on the part of many among the German people. An extraordinary feature of the present situation is that the French people, who sincerely detest war and all its works, are invading the territory of the German people, the mass of whom I believe have come to understand the insanity of their former militarism and who also long for peace. And disinterested peoples quite generally deplore the invasion of the Ruhr, even though their judgment may justify its necessity. Under these conditions it would seem that there ought to be some other way out.



The Aftermath?

But the facts are that Germany has failed to live up to her obligations to pay reparations, and by a vote of three of its four members the Reparation Commission held that her default was voluntary and wilful. The fourth member (British) declined to vote. Considerations supporting this conclusion appear to be the following:

By the peace treaty Germany agreed to deliver two million tons of coal per month. Up to July, 1920, the Allies had succeeded in obtaining only 900,000 tons per month. At the Spa conference Mr. Stinnes, backed by a representative of the labor unions, declared that it was physically impossible to deliver more than 1,100,000 tons per month. Thereupon the Allies issued an ultimatum demanding two million tons per month under penalty of invasion of the Ruhr, and immediately the physical impossibility disappeared and two million tons per month were delivered. During 1922, however, the coal deliveries again fell behind. In 1922, France, Belgium, Italy, and England demanded a certain quantity of wood. It was found in December that only from 14 to 54 per cent of these demands were satisfied although over 30 per cent of the German forests belong either to the communes or to the government domain, and their production in 1913 was eleven times the quantity demanded by the Allies. Similar evasion has been shown even in small matters. In 1921 Belgium demanded 4,500 tons of potatoes, but only 412 tons were delivered. In 1922 the demand was reduced to 1,000 tons, but only 173 tons were delivered.

In matters of finance, also, Germany has shown the same lack of good-will. In 1922 Germany undertook to effect a forced internal loan. This loan, at the rates then prevailing, should have produced the equivalent of about 666 million gold marks last year. But the enforcement of the loan was carried out so slowly and inefficiently that only about one-tenth of that amount has been realized. Germany permitted delay and evasion in the payment of taxes by some of the large German enterprises. She has contributed to the lowering of the value of her own currency and to the destruction of her own credit. In the matter of her expenditures Germany has disregarded her promises to the Allies. For example, she engaged not to make any expenditures unauthorized by the Reichstag, without giving previous notice to the Allied Committee of Guaranties. Nevertheless she has paid thirty-one billion marks (paper) to certain shipowners without authorization and without notice. The German people, especially the rich, are not being taxed as the circumstances warrant nor to the same extent as the British people, for example, are being taxed to pay the expense and damage of the war.

I do not believe that the German people are a type separate and distinct from other peoples in relation to their civilization, certainly not in any fundamental sense. The mass of the people are made up of fathers and mothers and children very much of the same type as compose the populations of France, Great Britain, and the United States. They are primarily concerned with making a living and properly raising their families. They are not possessed of some Hunnish instinct which renders it impossible for them to refrain from plotting against the peace and order of the world. German blood does not suffer from such taint. A proof of this is the excellent citizenship in this country of our people of German blood. No men fought more gallantly in the American army against the German army and all it represented than did the American soldiers of German blood. But it apparently is true that the people of Germany, as a result of training from childhood, had been developed by their military system to make war upon the world in the ruthless manner in which they brought on and waged the World War. That development included a great respect for might and force and a contempt for weakness. There were many examples during the war of this state of mind, which are familiar to soldiers. Therefore, when the Allied governments were confronted with the problem of determining the action they should take when Germany refused to meet her obligations, they must have had in mind this

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German psychology, which undoubtedly still exists, and which may continue to exist until a new generation has been developed in Germany. The Allied governments had to vacillate or to take summary action. Not to take summary action would be construed by the German people as weakness, and the stubborn attitude of the German Government would be stiffened. To me it is clear that there was but one action to take, provided it would give reasonable promise of securing results. That action was the occupation of the Ruhr.

It seems clear that the attitude of Germany was influenced, to some extent at least, by the knowledge that Great Britain probably would not join in the occupation movement and that this might result in misunderstandings and disagreements among the Allies that would be profitable to Germany. When it becomes clear that the policy adopted by the British Government will not affect the French determination, and that the military rule of the French army, while firm and effective, is just and tactful, the support of the German people of the German official policy will weaken, and German industrial leaders will consent to settlement.

When we threw in our lot with the cause of France it was our purpose to see the thing through to the end, no matter what might be the cost. But the period of armed hostility was but one phase of the struggle. The invasion of the Ruhr is a logical and, one might say, an unavoidable step in the progress of the great struggle which began in 1914 and which is only now nearing a close. We should continue to help our ally, at least by our good-will and confidence. In the role of friend and adviser we can do more to temper any harshness that may develop than we could as an unfriendly critic of our old associate.

Against the Invasion

By PIERREPONT B. NOYES

Former United States Rhineland Commissioner

IT is a pity we cannot discuss the situation in Europe with a single eye to the misfortunes of France and the reparations justly due her. The terrible devastation of northern France, the bitter personal losses of the people, the urgent national need of financial assistance, and the fear of future attacks—all these have been told and retold in such vivid detail during the past four years that the American people are practically a unit in their sympathy for France. Our present task, however, is to examine as unemotionally as possible whether the policy that nation's rulers have elected to pursue is wise, or whether in seeking reparation and revenge for one disaster she is likely to bring upon herself and upon the rest of the world immensely worse disasters.

There have been, I believe, two governing factors in bringing about the present Ruhr situation—factors whose recognition will explain many otherwise unexplainable incidents of the future. First: The German indemnity has at all times been fixed at an immensely larger amount than any country of Germany's size could possibly pay. Second: France knows this; she has always known it; she has purposely insisted on a figure which would insure German default. Ever since 1920 political power in France has been in the hands of men who regarded the destruction of Germany as immensely more important than the collection of reparations. The impossible indemnity, like the huge French army, has been maintained against the day when other objecting Allies could be safely defied, and the carefully planned Ruhr campaign could be inaugurated.

First, as to the indemnity. I wish to present the matter from a very simple angle. In 1871 the total capital value, the total wealth of all kinds in France was estimated by a member of the French Cabinet as about twenty-five billion dollars (one hundred twenty-five billion francs). Germany assessed against France an indemnity of one billion dollars. This was supposed to spell economic ruin for France. It was paid within three years, but the payment has always been considered miraculous. This indemnity represented 4 per cent of the national wealth of France. In 1908 a celebrated British statistician estimated the total wealth of Germany as sixty-five billion dollars. The best estimate I can obtain of Germany's wealth in 1914 puts it between seventy-five and ninety billion. Certainly after the war seventy-five billion is a liberal estimate. Now, the indemnity assessed against Germany in 1920 was approximately fifty-six billion dollars, or 75 per cent of her total national wealth, and the much-lauded merciful compromise of London in 1921 still called for over thirty-two billion dollars, or 43 per cent of Germany's total wealth. In 1871 the 4 per cent indemnity was considered an outrage of intoxicated victors. Yet for three years past the people of America have repeated the outgivings of French propaganda claiming that Germany could easily pay 75 per cent and afterwards 43 per cent of her total wealth if she only would.

This is not all. Figures submitted to the French Parliament in 1872 showed that the total cost of the war to France was less than 6 per cent of her capital wealth. The war in 1914-1919 cost Germany between 30 and 40 per cent of her resources. Even so in 1871-73 France could not have paid the indemnity but for her credit, which was supported in every way by neutrals and even by Germany because of her need of the money. On the other hand, from the very day of the armistice, the policy of the Allies has tended to destroy German credit.

In the face of figures like these, will any sane person claim that Germany could pay a tithe of the reparations demanded by France or that she has had even a remote chance of freeing herself from the penalties of a treaty-breaker and the threat of invasion?

My charge that France has actually desired Germany's default is not susceptible of such simple and convincing proof as this matter of the indemnity. The French authorities have, of course, made repeated threats of invading the Ruhr. The militarist party has all along chafed at the restraint which England imposed. The Frankfort invasion in April, 1920, was looked upon as a "try-out." If protest from England and other countries had not proved too strenuous the Ruhr was to have been invaded on May 1. It was Mr. Lloyd George's very emphatic negative which killed the plan for that time. Before the indemnity was fixed in May, 1920, the threats to invade the Ruhr were always founded on the default in the deliveries of coal. It was in this connection that I received very convincing proof of the real purpose of M. Poincaré and the French militarists. I was called by the Reparation Commission as one of the coal experts at a time when a German delegation had been summoned to Paris to discuss some plan to obtain more coal for France. As president of the Inter-Allied Coal Commission for Occupied Germany, I had prepared figures showing that Germany could deliver a million and a quarter tons a month

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without ruining her own industries. I urged our commissioner to insist that we be allowed to discuss the amount of coal France could physically transport, for I felt sure it would be possible to make a bargain with the Germans which would give to France—then suffering terribly for lack of coal—more coal than she could possibly take. But M. Poincaré would not even allow the matter to be discussed, apparently regarding a German default on coal deliveries as a greater asset than more coal.

All of these things taken together have convinced me that the collection of a German indemnity has, for a long time, played a part very secondary to plans for military aggression. It was because of this conviction that I predicted more than two years ago that M. Poincaré would become Premier. He, above all others, stood for military measures and he knew how to line up the people of France behind his policy. I predicted that the French army would invade the Ruhr, because that was so evidently the strategic starting-point for a military expedition against Germany and Europe. I did not predict these things as mere incidents, but as inevitable steps in the progress of a nationalist campaign which aimed at the military domination of Europe.

The Rhineland cannot support a large army. The industrial districts of Westphalia and the Ruhr can, theoretically, be made to support at least 250,000 French soldiers. The French militarists aiming to dominate Europe envisage 250,000 soldiers permanently garrisoning the Ruhr and the Rhineland without expense to France. Such an army, equipped and ready to move, could undoubtedly intimidate any nation of the Continent which opposed French plans. With Belgium and Poland on either side, this army would be the keystone of a military arch, capable of extension through the Balkans and on into Russia as occasion offered. This army would also be a defense against rebellion at home—troops from the Ruhr could within twenty-four hours be thrown into Paris.

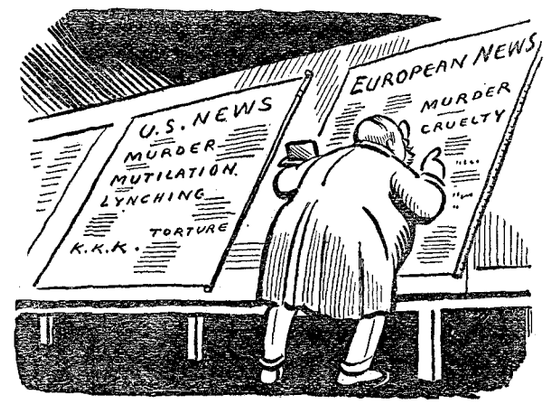
For the future only two things seem certain: Germany cannot offer organized armed resistance, and the French enterprise can have but one end—misery and misfortune for both France and Germany and finally for all the rest of us. If a new European war should come, it would surely be protracted and would probably be inconclusive on account of the exhaustion of all the countries of Europe. It would end in a peace of armed enemies.

If I appear in these pages as a harsh critic of French policy, I am bound to say that I feel more critical and more condemnatory of the policy of the United States. I regard the policy of the present Washington Administration, or rather its helpless lack of policy, as the outstanding cause of the world's present predicament. America's sins of omission are more to be condemned than France's sins of commission. The only hope for Europe lies in joint action by the United States and Great Britain. These two nations must join in a demand that France give up her imperialist plans and withdraw from the Rhineland and the Ruhr. If France should refuse to heed the advice of her old Allies, Great Britain and the United States should and could, by economic pressure, force that country to put an end to her present military adventure. But the United States cannot honorably take this course without promising France that in case her advice is accepted this country will join the League of Nations and use its powerful influence to obtain from Germany all the reparations it is possible for that country to pay without preventing its economic recovery.

England and Germany

By LEONARD WOOLF

THE English are probably the most conservative people in the world; even when they do make a change, they prefer to retain the whole of the past and merely cover it over with a thin film which they call the present. No one can understand the foreign policy of Great Britain at any particular moment, unless he remembers and makes allowance for this characteristic. So today, if one is to understand the trend of British policy upon the Continent of Europe, one must look back to history, for that is where it has its roots. Those who know English history will recog-



The loyal American always looks abroad for atrocities

nize in what is now happening and in the currents of opinion one of those periodic crises through which British foreign policy is accustomed to pass. The traditional attitude of Britain to the Continent is in normal times one of complete aloofness. The German, Frenchman, Austrian, Italian, and Spaniard may piece together their jig-saw puzzle of defensive alliances and even fight their minor wars over frontiers, but the Englishman, contemptuous behind his faithful Channel, will have nothing to do with them; his business is to do as his fathers did, to sell his cotton goods and machinery and to pick up—and, if necessary, fight for—any trifles of Africa or Asia which, as a pioneer of trade and civilization, he has not yet added to his Empire.

This is the normal attitude of British policy. But four hundred years ago a French king invented what he called the "balance of power," and English statesmen adopted it as a principle of national policy. Carefully preserved in the Tower of London with the Crown Jewels and the Magna Charta, it is at intervals taken out of its cupboard by a British Prime Minister, given a hasty dusting, and used as an unanswerable argument for taking part in a first-class European war. It has been used in this way in the times of Philip II of Spain, of Louis XIV of France, of Napoleon, and finally of the Great War. It follows that the periodic crises in British policy are of two different kinds, one when Britain is passing from the normal attitude of aloofness to the policy of the balance of power and the other when she is returning from the policy of the balance of power to aloofness.

The policy of England toward Germany is being determined by the fact that it is one of this latter kind of crises through which we are beginning to pass. The symptoms are unmistakable. There is already an almost instinc-

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tive impulse in British politics to disentangle ourselves from the terrible mess which we have helped to make of Central Europe. Sir John Bradbury has already become a silent spectator of the antics of the Reparation Commission; Lord Curzon has spent nearly three months in a desperate effort to liquidate Mr. Lloyd George's Turkish adventure; voices are already being heard demanding that the British troops shall follow the American example and evacuate Cologne. Nor is the working of this historic instinct confined to any particular party. Mr. Law, leader of the Conservatives and now Prime Minister, in his letter to the *Times* last October stated that under certain circumstances he would support the following policy: "To imitate the Government of the United States and to restrict our attention to the safeguarding of the more immediate interests of the Empire." On the other hand in the labor movement and among Liberals there is a considerable body of opinion in favor of withdrawing our troops from the Continent and our representative from the Reparation Commission, a policy which would lead to a new period of "splendid isolation."

If the current of this instinctive British policy could flow unchecked in its traditional channels, the relations of Britain to Germany and the rest of Europe would very soon be placed upon their normal footing. Public opinion has already reconciled itself to the belief that the punitive and economic clauses of the Versailles treaty are a mistake; it has little hope of obtaining anything in the way of an indemnity out of Germany, and it would be content to let bygones be bygones and to reestablish international trade without distinguishing between Germans, Frenchmen, Poles, or Russians. Unfortunately the Treaty of Versailles and, perhaps too, the fundamental conditions of modern life have created serious obstacles to any return by Great Britain to her traditional policy of political aloofness and economic penetration in Europe. It is notorious that Mr. Lloyd George is ignorant of even the elementary facts of history. If this were not the case, he would have known that the historic role of a British Premier at a peace conference following a first-class European war is to prevent the victor, whether it be France or Germany, from completely crushing the defeated Power. Mr. George, if he had followed the precedents of Castlereagh and Canning, would have joined forces with President Wilson at Versailles; he would have been content with the German colonies and would have fought hard against the economic annihilation of Germany, against her complete disarmament, and against the establishment of the undisputed military supremacy of France. But Mr. George is neither an historian nor a statesman; he is rather a parochial politician, and, as he was always thinking not of traditions and precedents, but of votes, he very skilfully "let down" the unfortunate President Wilson and gave to M. Clemenceau the Punic peace which he demanded.

The result has been fatal for the aims of British policy in Central Europe. The normal course for Britain would be, having established the balance of power by a great war, to make friends with Germany and to stand aloof until the next Great War. But Mr. George established no balance of power; he put all the power into one scale, the scale of the French. French policy is quite simple; its objects are the Rhine frontier and a hold upon the Ruhr in order to keep Germany both militarily and economically weak. Today we are watching this policy being translated into action in the Ruhr and Rhineland, and this is placing British policy in a very awkward position. For Britain to extricate herself from the mess in Central Europe and settle down to the normal relations of international trade is under the circumstances impossible. For over four years the British Government by every kind of subterfuge and device attempted to undo the work of the Versailles treaty and to allow Germany to reestablish herself economically as a good customer and even to return by a back door into the comity of nations. The attempt was unsuccessful. Mr. George had allowed M. Clemenceau to get his claws too deeply into Germany, and M. Poincaré, who can dominate Europe with the French army and the armies of his ring of smaller allies, is now completing M. Clemenceau's work. France is establishing herself permanently on the Rhine and is attempting to complete the economic annihilation of Germany.

To the student of history it is most interesting to watch the reaction of this situation upon British policy. Two currents of opinion are clearly discernible. The impulse toward political isolation and aloofness is rapidly gaining force, despite the fact that the French are destroying its corollary, the reestablishment of normal economic conditions in Europe. The attitude of Mr. Law in the passage quoted above is typical; he says in effect: "If these foreigners refuse to behave sensibly, well, we must wash our hands of Europe and content ourselves with imperial and extra-European trade." But there is a second current of opinion already beginning to manifest itself. It would, perhaps, be an exaggeration to say that there is any wide growth of active sympathy with Germany, but there is a very decided change of attitude toward Germany. It springs, probably, from the conviction that the balance of power is now overwhelmingly in the scale of France, that this is traditionally contrary to British interests, and that France is not "playing the game" in preventing the reestablishment of peace and equilibrium after a Great War. Consequently there has been a very decided shift of opinion in the last six months from the side of France to that of Germany. People who could never be suspected of being pro-Germans are even beginning to say that French policy on the Rhine and in Central Europe must be actively opposed. The withdrawal of the British troops from Cologne is now being opposed by those who a short time ago were most eager for withdrawal, and on the explicit ground that so long as they remain there, they prevent the carrying out of the French policy of detaching the Rhineland from Germany. It is doubtful whether there is any clear understanding in the minds of most of those who hold this opinion of the direction in which this policy must inevitably carry Great Britain. Any active opposition to France must carry the country in the direction of cooperation with Germany. But such a policy is incompatible with aloofness and isolation, and here we see the possibility of Britain being forced once more to adopt her other traditional policy of the balance of power. It is indeed possible that, thanks to M. Clemenceau and Mr. George and now to M. Poincaré, the Great War did not end on November 11, 1918; that that date only closed the first chapter, and that, after a breathing space of a few years, the second chapter in the immemorial struggle between Frenchmen and Germans for the Rhine frontier will open. The reflection suggests two questions which the wise man will ask himself but not pretend to answer: If that second chapter of the Great War opens, will the British troops at Cologne be the advance guard of a British Expeditionary Force? And if so, on which side will it fight?

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In Darkest Louisiana

By LEONARD LANSON CLINE

WHEN you have scraped the yellow mud of Morehouse parish off your boots, when you have rinsed the taste of Bastrop's greasy American fries out of your mouth with a dram of gin, when you have gazed long enough on the cheerful slums of Baltimore to forget the ghastly spectacle of the gray moss hanging like hanks of grisly hair from the live-oaks along Bayou Bartholomew, then the latest Louisiana scandal takes on a slightly different aspect.

Of course, the Ku Klux Klan is still to blame. Whatever else the opening hearing in Bastrop courthouse, conducted by Judge Coco with his air of vast and ogreish solemnity, may have accomplished, it did show clearly a series of lawless acts that could have been committed only through just such an organization as that of the Klan. People were flogged, dragged out of their homes at midnight on trumped-up charges without any warrants, hunted out of the parish. Wives and daughters actually were left hysterical, nerve-shattered, preyed on by dread of a return of the hooded hoodlums. But the motives behind these forays and punishments so exuberantly administered were more than merely the intent to execute the aims for which the Klan pretends it was founded. You must look back twenty-five years to find the origin of these.

It was about that long ago that one principal division of what is now the Missouri Pacific Railroad was surveyed through the parish. The line was projected through the town of Bastrop, and everything was ready for construction work to begin, when suddenly a change of plans was announced. Captain Davenport, head of the most influential family in the neighboring hamlet of Mer Rouge, is said to have started secret negotiations with the directors of the railroad. The line was built through Mer Rouge, and Bastrop slumped. There is a vacant lot at one corner of the courthouse green in Bastrop. Today it is held at a valuation of some $5,000. After the loss of the railroad property values so collapsed that this lot, and a two-story brick building then standing upon it, were sold for about $1,600.

Mer Rouge on the other hand boomed. Captain Davenport in his weekly *Democrat* gloated over the successful outcome of his intrigue. He now proposed to transfer the parish seat from Bastrop. In his vainglory he set aside a square in Mer Rouge for a new courthouse. But Bastrop, through its weekly paper, began to fight desperately to retain its ancient distinction. A hot series of editorials followed. Captain Davenport wrote stodgily, and with something of the bombast of a grandee. His opponent, McMeans, was shrewd, sarcastic, witty. Captain Davenport rumbled a challenge to a duel. McMeans held the captain up to ridicule, and Bastrop kept the courthouse.

For a time the hatreds smoldered. But in 1914 the police jury—a strangely misnamed institution that never acts as a jury and has nothing to do with the police, but serves in the same capacity as our Northern boards of county supervisors—decided to build a new courthouse. One way to do this was by bond issue, to be voted on by all the electors of the parish. If put to an election, the muttering Mer Rouge malcontents might upset the scheme. Another way was by mill-tax, imposed arbitrarily by the jury. This was adopted. Before Mer Rouge knew what had happened, the contracts had been let for the erection of the silly structure of yellow brick that now towers above the weatherbeaten one-story shops of Bastrop. Resentment burst into flame. Mer Rouge started a lawsuit and fought it through to the Supreme Court before the rights of the police jury were finally confirmed.

More than this economic rivalry lies at the bottom of the malevolence Mer Rouge and Bastrop bear toward each other. There is a Cavalier and Roundhead relationship that is very obvious and easily verified. You suspect it the minute you leave Bastrop, with its new, cheap, freshly painted bungalows and the stench of its pulp-mill that lifts a fuming stack above the trees, and enter the broad avenues of Mer Rouge, with their dignified old houses seen lying back from the road through lanes of ancient oaks.

In Mer Rouge you have a glimpse of Southern aristocracy, still lamenting its slaves. The Davenports are educated men; they have gone East to study at Washington and Lee, at West Point or other schools. The Andrews family is closely related to the most exclusive of New Orleans. Watt Daniel, supposed to be a victim of the Klan, whose body, with that of his chum, Richards, was recovered from dismal Lake Lafourche, was a graduate of the Louisiana State University. These men live amiably. They drink and play poker on occasion. One or two of them, it is said, would chuck a yellow girl under the chin if a likely one grinned their way. They strut a bit. They can imagine plumes on their caps, poniards in their belts. They run their plantations, and come home evenings, and consider themselves decent and intelligent and gallant. They hold the Klan in complete contempt.

On the other hand, Bastrop tends more and more to the type of a small industrial city. "How dry I am" becomes, in Bastrop, no longer a lament but a paean. A lyceum course takes the place of the poker game, and on Sundays Bastrop goes to the Baptist church. This Baptist church, a whitewashed wooden edifice down toward the pulp mill, really should be moved up to the public square. It and the courthouse constitute the Acropolis of Bastrop. Perhaps the restaurant where Old Skip eats—Captain Skip-with, cyclops of the Klan—should also be moved to the square; then the Acropolis would be complete. The Rev. Leon W. Sloan is pastor of the Baptist church. Gossip names him also a Klansman, and he will not deny that there is more than one nightshirt in his closet. Judge Frederick M. Odom is superintendent of Sloan's Sunday school. Sheriff Carpenter, Klansman, comes often there to service. Old Skip, Episcopalian of record, sits in Sloan's pews Sunday after Sunday. David I. Garrett, district attorney, said to be a Klansman, I have also seen in the church. Jeff Burnett, charged already with complicity in the murder of Daniel and Richards, is having his membership transferred to Sloan's rolls. Dr. B. M. McKoin, identified as one of the "terrors," is a Baptist, although he was not registered in the Bastrop church.

Now, the good Baptists of Bastrop found, in the shameless manner of life of their neighbors in Mer Rouge, another reason to be angry. Drinking, gambling, miscegenation, and easy virtue make up a picture of another Sodom

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at which the Bastrop Baptists were only too eager to raise their hands in horror. War on Mer Rouge was not only a wreaking of vengeance for the old defeat of twenty-five years ago, for the contumacy of 1914; it was also a crusade. Pastor Sloan consecrated the old antagonisms. Bastrop joined the Klan.

By this time Bastrop had found new vitality in the discovery of the gas and oil resources that make the piny ridge between the Ouachita and the Boeuf River basins a treasure field. Great carbon plants were built up here and there in clearings through the woods, and workmen came to operate them. There was a good deal of riff-raff in this influx. There were rough youths who slept in the bunkhouses or reared their slattern families in the unpainted shacks. In any community they would be reckoned a dangerous element. They found white lightning and prostitutes scarce; there were no movies nearer than Bastrop. After work there was no recreation, except, perhaps, hunting. So they, too, joined the Klan, more by way of diversion than from any impulse to crusade.

Yes, it must have provided a real thrill to go scooting through the shadowy roads in somebody else's flivver, to meet in lonely dingles in the pine woods and flog other men, to bounce down the fifteen-foot declivity where the ridge ends and swoop at twenty-five miles an hour through the flatlands around Mer Rouge, through phantasmal Lafourche swamp with its banshee live-oaks waving their snaky tresses in the moonlight. It was a perpetual Hallowe'en. And even if one didn't care much for church, and took one's shot of white lightning when one could get it, and would pay a dollar any day for five minutes in a trollop's arms, it was reassuring to know that religion approved and sanctified one's pranks. It made one bolder. There remained only the mask to complete the pleasure of these nocturnal forays.

And now comes Old Skip out on the stage. Ten or twelve years ago he was mayor of Bastrop, and he is saturated with the antipathies of the parish. He has a swelling sense of his own importance. He never forgets that in the lapel of his little gray coat with its velvet collar are the insignia of the Confederate veterans. In his mind always is the memory of the old Klan. He is proud of the fact that he is descended from Pocahontas, that in his veins are vestiges of blue blood. Impulsive, harsh, dictatorial by temperament, he found himself possessed at last, by election as exalted cyclops of the Klan, of power to put his least caprices into effect. He became exalted beyond his wildest dreams. He found himself master of a gang of night-riders who were only too eager to carry out his orders, perhaps to go even farther than he directed. It must be remembered that the torture and killing of Daniel and Richards are as much of a mystery now as they ever were, and that the nearest to an identification of Old Skip as the plotter of this horrible thing was a mere hint that he may have laid plans for the kidnapping.

The open hearing into these garboils is over. Politics, of course, impeded it. The personal ambitions of Judge Coco, Attorney General of Louisiana, and of St. Clair Adams, one of the leading criminal lawyers of the State, who had been retained as a special assistant, clashed, and led to a break only a few days before the hearing began. The work of the United States secret service agents, who snooped timorously through the parish for months and discovered next to nothing, has set an everlasting example of fatuity. It is doubtful if any indictments will ever be returned for the murder of Daniel and Richards, especially if a Morehouse parish grand jury considers the information obtained at the hearing; nine of the twelve members of the present grand jury there are said to be Klansmen. Some very good cases against the night-riders for breaking into private homes, armed, without warrants—a capital offense in Louisiana, at the discretion of the jury—have been built up. These may be prosecuted, and, if the State is given a change of venue to some other parish, convictions may result. But whatever comes of the hearing, public opinion will have been clearly awakened to the menace of the Klan.

In its peculiar organization, the cyclops is made a tyrant to whom all Klansmen must vow absolute obedience, and there is no means provided for checking up on his activities. For the execution of any mischief that he may direct, the Klan offers its vigilance committee, its holy thugs; and it gives these thugs, in the mask, a stimulant as potent as the cocaine with which the footpad nerves himself for murder.

People will continue to hate each other and be jealous, Baptists will continue to clamor against liquor and lewdness, old men will continue to get megalomaniac obsessions. If it had not been for these deeper motives the Morehouse parish Klan would have contented itself with the usual nightshirt parades, the tawdry exhibitionism behind the acetylene flaming torches, the childish visitations to the churches to hand pastors envelopes with twenty-five dollars in them. But if it had not been for the Klan, Morehouse parish would never have been disgraced by the recent outrages. The means to them would have been lacking, though the will were fierce.

To the mob the Ku Klux Klan offers as effective an instrument as could be contrived to satisfy, in the name of virtue and with the approbation of the evangelical church, its meanest and most brutal desires. There is the moral of the Morehouse unpleasantness. And a clear understanding of that would mean more than the hanging of every hooded ruffian in the parish.

Contributors to This Issue

LEONARD WOOLF, author of "International Government," was for some time editor of the foreign relations section of the *Contemporary Review* and is now a regular contributor on foreign affairs to the London *Nation*.

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A Country Without a Statesman

By HEINRICH KANNER

Vienna, February 12

THE first results of the intervention of the League of Nations in the financial affairs of Austria have been unquestionably favorable, and have greatly aided the Government in overcoming the Social-Democratic opposition to the work of financial sanitation. The old Austro-Hungarian Bank which did so much mischief through its unlimited issuance of unsupported bank notes has been liquidated, and in its place a new bank of issue, the National Bank, has been founded with a capital of thirty million gold kronen, largely raised from domestic sources. Then a Treasury 8 per cent gold loan, on a dollar basis, has brought in twenty million gold kronen. But most important of all, the printing presses, which by day and by night have been turning out currency on unprotected government I. O. U.'s, ever since the evil days of 1914, have at last been stopped. The position of the krone immediately improved. In October it stood at 73,000 to the dollar, in November at 71,000, in December at 70,000, and since then has been stabilized between the two last-named figures.

So much is all to the good. Now for the other side of the picture. The Government went about the task of increasing the revenues of the nation, as it had promised to in the agreement with the League of Nations, with astonishing speed. But only with speed; there have been lacking thoroughness, foresight, and appreciation of the inevitable results of their policy. The Government simply raised taxes, tariffs, and prices on monopolized articles all along the line, without any adequate economic understanding of what it was doing. On the railroads, for instance, it increased rates by several hundred per cent, to such a degree that they have gone beyond the possibilities of trade, and in consequence freight business has fallen off, while on the passenger trains the first class is almost empty and the patronage of the other classes much less. The financial result is therefore the very opposite of what was intended; the receipts have fallen off to such an extent that the railroad experts are now at work trying to reduce the rates they have only just raised. Meanwhile trade and commerce stagnate, exports are falling off, and the rural consumer is compelled by higher costs to pay the price for this experimenting. The prices of tobacco, cigars, and cigarettes, which articles are monopolized by the Government, are now so high that the Austrian has been compelled to deny himself these luxuries, and the financial fruits the Government expected are not to be garnered in this orchard.

Frankly, this did not surprise experts, who were of the opinion that the former governments of the Republic had already gone as far as possible with this means of raising revenues. Only through a cutting down of the State's expenses can a radical improvement in the finances of Austria be achieved. The crying need has been, of course, the contraction of the topheavy bureaucracy inherited from the old monarchy, which was increased under the Republic by the adding of many needless offices. No ministry dared to tackle this task until the Republic pledged itself to do so in return for the aid of the League of Nations, which naturally objected to a governmental organization under which we have had one official to every six citizens. The Geneva convention called for the discharge of 25,000 officials by the end of 1922. This has been done. But how? In an entirely mechanical manner, which has not produced the financial results desired, and has injured the working of the governmental machinery. Incredible as it seems, the Government simply dismissed all officials over the age of fifty-four. Not only is it a cruelty to turn men adrift in these years, but this process deprived the State of many of its ablest and most experienced officials. More than that, since the Government has pledged itself to pay pensions to the oldest of these officials at the rate of 93½ per cent of their salaries, and paid round sums in cash to those whom it discharged without pensions, the Treasury instead of being eased by this process has actually been more heavily burdened in this transition period. So unintelligent was the action taken that in some departments the day after the old officials left the others had to run to other departments to borrow help to carry on their work. It is only just to the Government to add that this fiasco was largely due to the influence of the organizations of office-holders whose undue powers the Government is now trying to check by law, against such violent opposition of the Social-Democratic Party that it recently came to blows in the Cabinet.

Of course, the stabilization of the krone, and the stopping of inflation, has had precisely the results in Austria which this procedure causes in any country—temporary business stagnation and unemployment. There are 100,000 unemployed in Vienna today. In Austria, this phenomenon has been made worse by the already cited mistakes of the Government, and because of the effect upon us of the general crisis throughout mid-Europe, intensified by the invasion of the Ruhr. Moreover, prices have not gone down, as is usually the case; foodstuffs remain at the highest point reached in the panic of last summer, and even give signs of rising further. A street-car fare is still 1,500 kronen, although only 600 kronen on the street cars of Berlin. Indeed, a trip to Berlin from here pays well today if one buys a few articles of clothing and underwear. The present Ministry is no more able to grapple with the retail prices than its predecessors. The production of goods has decreased markedly compared with the pre-war output, and consumption has also decreased, but not correspondingly, so that the effect is as if consumption had increased.

Austria is, of course, under the greatest debt to the League of Nations, but it must itself put its economic and financial life in order, if in the long run it desires to escape the loss of its independence. That this is not being more rapidly done is due not only to the past and to the bad times, but to the folly of the two leading parties. They are putting party interest above the national welfare; a leaking ship can be saved if the crew is united at the pumps, not if the crew is disorganized. The greatest need of Austria is, of course, statesmanship, but in neither of the two parties which have been alternately carrying on the Government is there a single first-class political talent. They are led by excellent party leaders, not statesmen; under the old regime, of course, there was little possibility for the development of first-class material and so what the statesmen achieved at Geneva the partisans in Vienna are in danger of losing. Is it not a contradiction to forget in Geneva the blood-stained hostilities of the World War, and at home to increase the fraternal hatreds of the parties? The first Austrian leader who puts an end to these divisions will become the first statesman of the new Austria.

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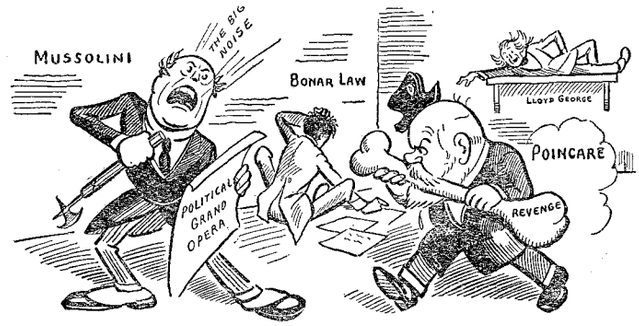
France and the German Counter-Revolution

By LUDWELL DENNY

(The Nation's Special Correspondent)

Munich, February 3

THERE is more behind the dangerous growth of German counter-revolution than French intrigue; but France's indirect and direct support is an important factor. The French occupation is deliberately used as a screen by the *putsch* detachments, which act against their own countrymen instead of the French invaders. These German bands periodically receive money from France—whether actually from the French Government one cannot say. These are the facts; the motives are less tangible. Apparently the aim of the counter-revolutionists is to destroy the republic and labor unions and later to fight France; and evidently the French plan is to destroy Germany itself by stimulating separation and civil strife.



The European Madhouse

Such a putsch is threatened in Munich. "If the Government interferes with us, blood will flow; and two hours after the first shot is fired the Government will be overthrown." This was the ultimatum of Herr Hitler, the leader of the "National-Socialists," to the Bavarian Ministry. The Ministry declared his organization "illegal and in open conflict with the constitutional Government," and established martial law. That was on January 26. But when I arrived two days later, despite nominal martial law I found the Hitler demonstrations in full swing, his troops marching about the city under the friendly eyes of the police. The population, stirred by the French occupation and rising prices, is on a nationalist debauch. The great mass meetings are clearly representative; young and old, rich and poor are there.

Hitler, going from meeting to meeting, is received with enthusiasm. He is an extraordinary person. An artist turned popular prophet and savior, is the way members of the audience described him to me as we waited for him to appear. A young man stepped on the platform and acknowledged the long applause. His speech was intense and brief; he constantly clenched and unclenched his hands. When I was alone with him for a few moments, he seemed hardly normal; queer eyes, nervous hands, and a strange movement of the head. He would not give an interview—said he had no use for Americans. Later I learned something of his story. He is not an artist but a locksmith, not a Bavarian but an Austrian. During the war he was wounded, and through fright or shock became blind. In the hospital he was subject to ecstatic visions of Victorious Germany, and in one of these seizures his eyesight was restored. After the war he devoted himself to organizing the "National-Socialist Party" (a society rather than a political party), which was prohibited except in Bavaria because of its reactionary aims and terrorist methods. Hitler, and others, inherited the personnel and arms of the notorious Orgesch (organizations of Escherich) when they were broken up by the Allied Commission. Last September he threatened his first putsch—against the Reich. He and the Bavarian Minister-President von Kahr refused to accept the laws for the defense of the republic which the Berlin Government enacted after Rathenau's murder. The result, though a nominal victory for Berlin, favored the rebels. Bavaria recognized the laws after forcing the interpretation that their local enforcement rested with the Munich authorities instead of the Reich—Bavaria remained safe for monarchist conspirators. Under pressure of North German opinion, Herr von Kahr retired to the hardly less powerful position of President of Upper Bavaria (the Munich district); and Hitler settled down to perfect his propagandist societies and "shock troops." For what purpose?

"We demand the uniting of Germans on the basis of self-determination in one Great Germany; abolition of the treaties of Versailles and St. Germain; land and colonies for the support of our people and the settlement of our overflow population." These are the first planks in the "National-Socialist" platform. The appeal is equally to the Germans of Austria and the minorities in Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, and Italy. From all of these countries delegates have arrived in Munich; monarchists, that is, including twenty-seven princes, princesses, and counts. And from the rest of Germany they pour in by the trainload, mostly armed companies in uniform (some have been intercepted and jailed in Berlin, Gera, and elsewhere on the way). There is much parading. The flags have been consecrated and allegiance sworn—down with the colors of humiliation, up with the old flag of German glory. "The fatherland shall live again." . . . Hitler speaks; Echardt recites his ode, "Germany Awake"; the band begins to play, the old songs are sung with mounting fervor, until young men stand rigidly at salute and feeble white-haired couples weep together. A people at bay, united by selfless devotion to country! All very human, very sad, but inspiring. . . . So much for the patriotics, the exterior.

The leaders, however, are not carried away by emotion. They keep their heads and skilfully guide the mob. And watching, one slowly realizes that their purpose is not to save but to destroy the present Germany, not to fight for their country but for their class. The Hitler and Ludendorff troops are strong enough in numbers and arms to wage guerrilla warfare in the Rhineland and Ruhr against the French—the only alternative to the Berlin policy of non-resistance which they decry as treason. But these bravadoes are not setting out to face French guns—or any guns. Theirs is a safer war. "First we must defeat the enemy

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within the country." On January 14, the official day of mourning over the occupation (when ministers made monarchist speeches under the monarchist flag), these bands fell upon the liberal and trade-union minority whose meeting was around the German flag, injured many, and tore down the republican colors. Though Hitler was allowed to continue his incendiary agitation, the Government prohibited the Social-Democrat placards appealing for national unity and condemning as helpers of France "those who are stirring up trouble in the land; those who want bloodshed are guilty of high treason." On January 24 the terrorist detachments, after rioting, were received from his balcony by "King" Rupprecht. On the same day Ludendorff in addressing the Bund Oberland cried, "Prepare to fight"; and closed with the words, "Follow the king." The next day Hitler gave his ultimatum and the Government, after finally declaring his organizations illegal, within a few hours issued special permits for Hitler's three-day pan-German convention and the free movement of his troops. This without lifting martial law, which is still in effect—against the workers.

For it is against the trade unions and Social-Democrats —"Reds," "Jews"—that the Bavarian counter-revolution is chiefly directed. The "National-Socialist" manifesto provides, "A citizen shall be only one who is a *Volksgenosse*. No Jew can be a *Volksgenosse*. Whoever is not a citizen may live in Germany only as a guest and under the alien law. . . . If it is impossible to support the entire population, aliens shall be deported. (Clauses follow prohibiting Jews from owning or writing in German newspapers.) The party stands for positive Christianity, and fights against the Jewish materialist spirit." "Down with the Jew Republic," the song connected with Rathenau's murder, is sung at all the meetings I attend. In talking with members of the audiences one gets conflicting reasons for this anti-Semitism: "Jews are Reds," "Jews are *Schiebers*" (war profiteers)—in either case Jews caused Germany's present ruin. But the principal Munich *Schiebers* are Christians; these "Socialists" explain, however, that they are not opposed to "German" capitalists. Though formerly there was little or no anti-Semitism in Bavaria—the proportion of Jews to the total population is only 1 to 140—in the brief Communist regime of 1919 three Jews happened to be prominent. There was a Red terror in which 22 persons were killed. Munich has never forgotten. The guilty were punished: 10 executed, 3 imprisoned for life, and others given a total prison sentence of 248 years. This was not enough. The White terrorists (now "Hitler's shock troops") then proceeded to murder 354 supposed radicals—while the friendly Government (still in power) looked on; the total punishment for these crimes in contrast to those of the Reds was only 90 years' imprisonment, one life sentence, and 730 marks in fines. But the good people of Bavaria still are not appeased. "We'll hang a dirty Jew on every tree," they sing; the second line being, "We'll hang a dirty Red . . ." And, since they long ago disposed of all the real Reds, a "Red" now is a Social-Democrat or a member of a trade union.

After talking with Hitler the other evening, as he was lining up a band of his soldiers, I hurried across town to a trade-union building and sat in the darkness with the workers on guard. They talked of the terror—the same stories I had heard so often before in Poland, Hungary, Italy; first the attempts to lure the men into "nationalist unions," and, that failing, open violence. A call for help soon came in. A labor leader had been caught in a restaurant by that Hitler band; ten husky workers, all that could be spared, were sent on the run. The talk turned to weapons. How heavily armed are the Whites? I had seen their side-arms, and heard of the machine-guns at the Corneliusstrasse headquarters and other vantage points. All this the workers verified; but they were silent about the stores of large arms and equipment. Some even doubted whether the Whites had been able to secrete much artillery from the Allied Commission. "Well, they have enough to clean us out," said one. There was general agreement; Hitler's men were well armed, the workers were not; it was only a question of time before the Italian experience would be repeated in Bavaria. "Yes," added a watcher, bitterly, "and our own leaders are to blame; after the Commune they were the first to call in the Whites and disarm us."

Part of Hitler's arms came directly from the Government itself. The Social-Democrat deputy, Auer, recently charged in the Bavarian Parliament that much of the equipment of the Orgesch disposed of by Minister-President von Kahr had never been accounted for; that von Kahr had turned over to the nationalist organizations the motors, ambulances, field kitchens, etc., of the old German army. Auer could not mention arms. Persons giving such information to the Allied Commission are punished by the Government on a fake charge. The Social-Democrat daily, *Münchener Post*, has been suspended by the Government several times simply for mentioning the subject of hidden arms. Not only are the arms of the counter-revolutionists secure; they have the active or passive support of the military, especially the "green police."

The other putsch weapon is money. Hitler has plenty. Funds come to him from three known sources. Minister-President von Kahr, instead of using the money given him semi-secretly by the Berlin Government to disband the Orgesch, has financed the new organizations—probably he will soon be brought before the high court of the Reich on this charge. Secondly, Munich capitalists contribute; especially Hugelberg, general director of Krupps, and Kuhlo, president of the Bayern Industrialen Verband (confidential circular appeals sent out by this manufacturers' association to its members have been published). It is generally believed that Henry Ford recently made donations. The story should be dismissed as gossip; nevertheless Mr. Ford's anti-Semitic propaganda has had an effect even in Bavaria. The third known source from which Hitler receives money is France—the circuitous channel is through banks in the Saar, then the Deutsche Bank, Munich. Is Hitler playing a French game? Outwardly he has struggled against the separatist leaders for control of the counter-revolutionary organizations; and lately they seem to have come together. The Pittinger (French) project is for a South German kingdom of Bavarians and Austrians. In any case, Hitler's conduct in September is more significant than his party platform. He may wish to preserve the present Reich on his own reactionary terms, but he has shown that he is a separatist so long as northern Germany is republican. These fine distinctions are all one to the French. His connection with France causes uneasiness among some of his followers. And there is also criticism of his association with Mussolini—with whom he held conferences on Fascist tactics and from whom he may have received funds—because the Italian Fascisti among

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the brother Germans of the South Tyrol have been "treating 'em rough." But wherever and however Hitler gets his money, he is well supplied.

Money and arms can make a revolution but cannot maintain a dictatorship without the consent af Bavaria's dominant class, the peasant small holders. Until now their support has been lacking, despite generous sops in the Hitler platform. Dr. Heim, leader of the peasants' political and economic organizations, known as "the uncrowned king of Bavaria," prevented the dictatorship in September. Again this week the decision of the peasant representatives to cut off Munich's food supply in case of a putsch stopped Hitler when he had no reason to fear the shifty Government. While the peasants continue to support it, the Government and not Hitler will rule.

But the menace to Europe lies in the fact that there is little difference between Hitler and the Munich Government. Hitler would achieve by dictatorship what the Govment maintains "constitutionally," the dominance of the reactionary forces. As Minister Schweyer states the case, "We approve of much of Hitler's program, but he has got out of hand. I plead with him as a brother." The "National-Socialist" organizations, illegal throughout Germany, were armed and are encouraged by this Government. It has openly participated in sedition against the republic. It has made Bavaria a refuge for the vicious elements of Europe, and aided some to escape with false passports. Its police commander, Pöhner, shielded Ehrhardt, leader of the Kapp putsch, and protected Tillesen, murderer of Erzberger. Pöhner's successor, Nortz, cooperates with the terrorists. The Minister-President, von Knilling, is as rabid a monarchist as when he served the king. And the notorious von Kahr, highest official for Munich and Upper Bavaria, is the president of the combined nationalist organizations which have only changed their name from Orgesch to Vereinigte Vaterländische Verbände. This Government is responsible for the death last week of Hagemeister, the invalid political prisoner found confined in an unheated cell without medical attendance. It treats other radical or liberal prisoners similarly. Toller, the noted dramatist, remains in a fortress prison, while the monarchist Count Arco, murderer of Eisner, is allowed almost complete freedom.

And this Government is representative of most of the Bavarian people! "In Bavaria are the highest mountains, the best beer, and the worst democrats," runs the boast. The Ministry itself consists of the same pre-war bureaucratic class. The coalition ministry and majority parties (clerical) are controlled by the peasantry, which since the war is not only numerically but economically dominant. The peasantry in turn is controlled by the church. Cardinal Faulhaber, speaking before an all-German Catholic convention after Rathenau's murder by a monarchist, branded the German republic "a Government of traitors" and absolved Catholics from obeying the laws for its defense. Today the republic's humiliation is sweeping the people, as Bavarians and monarchists, toward civil strife which they, as loyal Germans, have avoided until now.

The liberals in Bavaria and the Ruhr have about given up hope. They are saying, grimly: "Republican Germany, with enemies behind and before, cannot hold out much longer without relief. If the Ludendorffs come back into power they will destroy not only us and the new Germany, but France and the rest of Europe."

The Burden of a Fatal Secret

By WILLIAM HARD

(*The Nation's Weekly Washington Letter*)

I HEREWITH present to my readers a profound problem in journalism and statesmanship.

In the course of my daily duties at Washington it has become advisable—and indeed necessary—for me to acquire a certain knowledge of the present foreign policy of the United States toward Europe. Millions of my fellow-citizens seem to be very eager to acquire knowledge on that subject. In their private conversations and in speeches in their local gatherings they pine to know what the foreign policy of the United States toward Europe is. With them, however, I am not concerned. Their aspirations toward comprehending our foreign policy are another problem. The problem which here puzzles me is one that has to do with the Senate.

Sitting in the gallery of the Senate, I hear Senators discussing the foreign policy of the United States toward France, toward Germany, toward the Ruhr, toward an international economic conference. In numerous instances—in fact, in almost all instances—they discuss it with a manifest ignorance of many crucial and determining facts which I know to be facts because I learned them from Mr. Hughes.

Mr. Hughes—like any other American Secretary of State—confides a great many crucial and determining facts of American foreign policy to the Washington correspondents of American newspapers. In fact he confides certain of them also to the Washington correspondents of foreign newspapers. These correspondents are welcome to the State Department newspaper conferences.

Like any other American Secretary of State, however, Mr. Hughes does not address the Senate as a body; and the speeches in the Senate on foreign affairs are an ample proof that Mr. Hughes spends little time addressing and informing Senators as individuals.

Sitting on the foreign policy of the United States belongs to Mr. Hughes. Guessing at what he is sitting on belongs to the Senate. Hatching out a treaty egg belongs also to the Senate. Laying it belongs to the State Department. Being terribly surprised by it and totally ignorant of the nature of its contents and of the character of the bird that will come out of it belongs to the Senate. The Senate and the State Department—in this matter of foreign affairs—have a joint job. The idea is that the two parts of this job should be as much as possible out of joint.

Being a conventional person, with a great respect for established practices, I give this idea a high degree of reverence. In principle I may think it absurd. In conduct I feel I ought to abide by it. Yet sometimes—sometimes—when I hear a United States Senator make a speech in which he manifestly does not know what Mr. Hughes communicated to M. Poincaré and what M. Poincaré communicated to Mr. Hughes, the thought occurs to me which constitutes the problem I here commit to my readers.

Would it be very wrong if I told the foreign policy of the United States to a United States Senator?

I realize on the one hand that it would interest him enormously. I realize on the other hand that I am not quite sure which part of it I really am free to tell him. Along with press gallery colleagues of mine I go to the State Department building and sit awaiting Mr. Hughes in a room adorned with a very large portrait of a Barbary Coast Ori-

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ental Mohammedan potentate. Mr. Hughes enters. We rise. Mr. Hughes steps briskly a few feet into the room and stands confronting us. He is alert. He is vibrant. His skin is ruddy. His teeth are very white, very large, and constantly visible in a quick active smile which looks as if it could readily be turned into a quick, active, and highly energetic bite. We ask him questions. He replies —or refuses to reply—crisply and sometimes politely, crushingly. He does not talk like a man mazed or mired. On the contrary he talks like a man with a destination clearly in view and with an eye clearly perceiving the roads that can take him there and the quicksands that may prove impassable.

In the interviews in the State Department building, and in interviews elsewhere, he gives us facts from which in time, by aggregation and by analysis, I find myself quite able to tell any United States Senator the highly interesting and important reasons why Mr. Hughes has done the things that he has done and has not done the things that he has not done. These facts, these reasons, are sometimes for publication. Sometimes they are confidential. To understand our foreign policy as a United States Senator should understand it, one should know all these facts and reasons. To be competent to judge the merits of the final documents —the treaties—in which our foreign policy is from time to time expressed, one should be continuously familiar with the preceding compelling circumstances of them. A United States Senator—in nine cases out of ten—is not. Relatively to the press gallery, the United States Senate is quite in the dark regarding our diplomatic intentions and maneuvers and necessities. Willmott Lewis, the Washington correspondent of the London *Times*, knows the facts and the reasons of American foreign policy much better than they are known by nine out of ten members of the American Senate.

I have sometimes contemplated introducing a new constitutional amendment by which hereafter all treaties will be ratified by a two-thirds vote of the press gallery. An alternative suggestion is that this country, which invented open diplomacy, should open its own to its own national legislature.

Or perhaps Mr. Hughes could eat his lunch in the Senate lunch room. I saw him eating there once before he was Secretary of State. He knows where it is. Or else successive groups of selected Senators might be allowed to accompany me and the other owners and users of the privileges of the press in our tours of inquiry in the State Department building. They might be permitted to share our opportunities of learning our country's foreign fate.

Meanwhile I sit in the Senate gallery and listen to Senatorial foreign affairs speeches which are quite empty of the realities of our foreign affairs situation and often quite contrary to those realities, and I feel burdened with a fatal secret—fatal to my admiration for a constitutional system by which a country is expected to have a foreign policy when the two institutions—the Senate and the State Department—which have to be the father and the mother of it, do not know each other.

The present situation is that the Senate spends its time mistakenly crowing, and the State Department sits on a china egg. Problem: How can they be persuaded to get married? That is the question to which citizens should devote themselves who now devote themselves to demanding that an American foreign policy shall walk the world.

The Death of the Parliaments

By M. W. FODOR

"I FORMED a Coalition Government, not in order to have a majority in Parliament—I do not want one—but to unite above parties all those who desire to save the nation in danger," said Benito Mussolini in his speech at Monte Citorio, delivering his program to the Italian Parliament. "What I am doing today is a formal act of courtesy toward you, for which I do not ask any special expression of gratitude. . . . The Italian nation has overthrown a Cabinet and has given itself a Ministry outside, above, and in spite of Parliament. I leave dissertations and complaints to the melancholy worshipers of super-constitutionalism; I simply say the revolution has its rights."

The honest and courageous Socialist deputy Turati answered solemnly: "Freedom cannot be oppressed for long. He who steps in its way will simply be swept aside." But for the time being the dictatorship of Fascism is established in Italy. Parliament has become the obedient servant of a man who claims to have a nation behind him, but who has, in fact, a group of 300,000 men to support him; yet this group is well armed, well organized, possesses artillery, sappers, hand-grenades—all the requisites of a modern army.

Lenin and Trotzky, as well as Bela Kun, have done the same: they have established a dictatorship with the help of arms, sweeping away democratic representation. Recent elections, including the last English elections, show that the existing electoral systems are often obsolete and by no means perfect, yet surely parliamentary representation comes nearest to expressing the popular feeling and the political atmosphere of a country. Lenin and Trotzky have done away with the parliamentary representation in the sign of the Red dictatorship. Mussolini does it in the sign of the Whites.

But it would be a mistake to think that the revolt against parliamentarism is restricted to Red Russia and Fascist Italy. The revolt is a general one all over Central and Southeastern Europe. Close on the heels of Italian Fascism follows the autocratic policy of the Hungarian Government. The present Hungarian Parliament was elected by means of a terror unparalleled even in the disgusting records of the Hungarian pre-war elections. Votes of people known to be supporters of the opposition were rejected with all kinds of excuses; peasants and workers were terrorized by gendarmes; candidates of the opposition were arrested and often interned in concentration camps. By such high-handed methods the Bethlen Government succeeded in gaining a majority. Yet even so a considerable number of opposition members got into the Hungarian Parliament, among them twenty-five Social-Democratic deputies. Now another terror is being used against these opposition deputies. In Parliament the majority party shouts them down; outside of Parliament the police and "Awakening Hungarians" try to bully the Social-Democratic deputies, disregarding the immunity due by traditional right to a Hungarian member of Parliament. More than ten years ago Count Tisza curtailed the rights of the opposition with an ukase which was sanctified by Parliament by a coup de main. Now Bethlen, admirer and pupil of Tisza, is reducing the possibility of opposition to a minimum. The organ of the Hungarian Fascisti, the *Szozat*, which, by the way, is a kind

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of semi-official paper of the Government, intimated a few days ago that they do not want parliamentarism, or will tolerate it only as long as it is useful to their ends.

"Hungarian parliamentarism," says the *Szozat*, "ought to be saved, but for this the first step is the new order and rule of the House [the curtailment of the opposition]. We do not want to overestimate the importance of parliamentarism, as Count Tisza saw it. We want to save this kind of parliamentarism because, *for the time being*, we cannot substitute anything better."

Hungarian parliamentarism has been most ruthlessly challenged by the so-called "irregular" detachments, the Awakening Hungarians and the Fascisti. Not to mention the repeated violation of the sanctity of Parliament by the occupation of armed groups at different occasions, the laws passed by the House are continuously violated by the high-handed actions of these bands.

The decay of Hungarian parliamentarism is a well-known fact abroad. It is hardly realized, however, that Austrian parliamentarism is also menaced very seriously. The decidedly reactionary Seipel Government, after cleverly conducted, prolonged negotiations, secured the promise of a considerable reconstruction loan under the aegis of the League of Nations. The Financial Committee of the League, advised by the Austrian Government, drafted a financial scheme for Austria, which the Austrian Parliament had to accept as without it the loan could not have been obtained. This scheme provided that the Austrian Parliament should vote full power to the Government for the coming two years, so that the Government might be able to put through any measures connected with reconstruction without consulting Parliament. The Government, in turn, will be "advised" by a commissioner appointed by the League.

In Jugoslavia parliamentarism is supposedly in existence, yet no one would call the Belgrade Skuptchina a parliament in the Western sense of the word. It was elected by the deliberate use of terror; strong factions have refused to take their seats and have refused the oath of allegiance to the Serbian king. The country, composed of heterogeneous elements, has a centralized government, and it is known that the Government was able to obtain a majority to pass the centralized bill only by purchasing the Mohammedan votes by bribery. The Communist members of the Skuptchina were high-handedly expelled a few months ago.

Bulgaria is a progressive country, yet it has by no means a constitutional or parliamentary government. Stambuliisky's regime looks dangerously like a dictatorship of the peasants. Bulgaria is, no doubt, predominantly a peasant country, yet the small but intelligent bourgeoisie of the towns is deprived of all rights. It is true this bourgeoisie is extremely conservative; it is true that they conspired with the counter-revolutionary Wrangel troops. Yet they form an insignificant part of the population and constitute no real danger to the state. After meeting the opposition bloc at Tirnovo a few months ago, Stambuliisky by a sort of popular referendum obtained the imprisonment of all leaders of the bloc on the charge that they are war criminals. The charge may have been justified, but Stambuliisky wanted to eliminate his opponents.

In Rumania the present Parliament was elected by a terror very similar to that in Hungary and does not in any degree represent the people. At the coronation of King Ferdinand at Alba Julia in Transylvania, not only the representatives of the national minorities, but also the whole National Party, representing the Rumanian population of Transylvania, abstained from participation.

The growing Fascist movement everywhere—in Bavaria, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugoslavia—is a serious menace to parliamentarism. These nationalist jingo groups, well armed, well organized, carry through their program by violence, disregarding the laws. Hackenkreutzler, Awakening Hungarians, Fascisti, Jugoslav National Free Corps, Czeck Legionairies mean the same thing: armed revolt against the authority of a representative parliamentary system.

I Was Made of This and This

By GERTRUDE ROBISON ROSS

(I was made of this and this—
An angel's prayer, a gipsy's kiss.)

My mother bore me prayerfully
And reared me sweet as a gift for God,
And taught me to look shudderingly
On ways my father trod.

They buried him long and long ago
(I just remember his eyes were blue),
He always did—they say who know—
Things it was wrong to do.

He prayed no saints but the Little Folk,
Pan was his only god; ah me,
The times he laughed when my mother spoke
The beads on her rosary!

(I tend my roof-tree and I pray
The Maid who knew a mother's woe
To keep my feet in the gentle way
Her Son would have me go.)

He swore round oaths and drank black gin;
He held four things to his heart's delight:
The hills, the road, his violin,
An open sky at night.

He told strange tales that were never true
(They buried him long and long ago!)
It always seemed the things he knew
Were things it was wrong to know.

He scoffed at walls and a garden plot;
He held three things to his heart's desire:
The river's song, an open spot,
The smoke from a driftwood fire.

(I wonder would I greatly care—
Mary, keep my heart from sin!—
If babe of mine should come to swear
Round oaths and drink black gin?)

I grieve for my mother's every tear,
I weep for the hurt in my mother's breast,
But ever and ever at bud o' year
I love my father best.

(That I had never been made of this—
The angel's prayer, or the gipsy's kiss!)

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Germany and the True France

By A. AULARD

Paris, February 8

WHEN the occupation of the Ruhr, which rightly concerns the whole world, is under way, the attitude of the French people cannot easily be understood. The great Parisian dailies which are most read abroad give misleading impressions. The *Temps*, the *Matin*, the *Journal*, the *Petit Parisien*, the *Echo de Paris*, and others attribute to the entire nation sentiments that are merely those of the Government; and it must be borne in mind that this Government emanates from a Chamber which, elected immediately after the war in the days of the bolshevist peril, no longer represents the majority of the nation.

Although the French people were cruelly disappointed and at times have felt something like despair when they faced the fact that the Germans have not yet to any appreciable extent helped repair the ruin they wrought on French territory, it should not be thought that disappointment and discouragement have filled them all with hatred.

They *are* disappointed and discouraged. But the *people* no longer hate the adversary of yesterday. Did they ever hate this adversary deeply and irrevocably, even in the cruelest hours of the war? Now that we are calm we see that it was anger rather than hate; anger less against the German people than against their Government and those Prussian professors who, at its command, trained the Germans to hate the French. Curiously enough, the calming of many hearts is the work of the former combatants. German soldiers and French soldiers killed each other but did not hate each other. They knew they were comrades in wretchedness and suffering. When the French peasant lad spent a few days' leave with his parents, he told them that the German soldier was a man, a poor devil just like himself, neither better nor worse, and that in the trenches, on both sides, there was only one wish and that was to have the war end. When one hears expressions of hate in France they come from the lips of those who did not fight, or from fathers and mothers mourning a son; never, or almost never, from the lips of a soldier.

Foreigners believe that hate has vanished from the hearts of only a few Frenchmen, those who, like myself, belong to the Left, and among the pacifist groups. It is certain that we "républicains démocrates," whether Socialists or not, gave the signal for the cessation of hate. In France it was the Right, the conservatives, the "moderates," who after the war endeavored to foster hate, to prolong and maintain it after peace had been declared. They control the great Paris newspapers, so it has been taken for granted that they spoke in the name of the French people. In fact, however, the press of Paris speaks in the name only of certain great economic interests. The newspapers of Lyons, Marseilles, Toulouse, Bordeaux, and Nantes are far more trustworthy interpreters of the opinion and feeling of republican France. But, in the past year, even these nationalist papers have made less frequent appeals to germanophobia. This shows that their readers are less rabid, and that the idea of collaboration between the two peoples has been making some progress in the public mind.

The strongest republican organization in France is the League for the Rights of Man. It has undertaken to cooperate with the sincere element among the German democrats. A German League of the Rights of Man in accord with ours has been formed. The French league has as president Ferdinand Buisson, deputy and honorary professor at the Sorbonne; I have the honor to be one of its vice-presidents. The German league has as president Helmut von Gerlach, the eloquent pacifist publicist. The Germans came to see us in Paris and we returned their visit in Berlin. We published a joint manifesto looking toward an *entente* between the two democracies, having as its preliminary condition the effectual payment of the reparations by Germany. This Franco-German collaboration was announced at numerous meetings at Paris and in the provinces. There certainly were present at these meetings some reactionaries and some chauvinists, but not one of them made objection.

In France it is at the theater that the pulse of the public can best be felt, because it is on the stage that feelings can be expressed most freely. The play that has been having the greatest success is a drama by François de Curel, "La Terre inhumaine." The theme is a spy story of the war. The role of spy is a thankless one, and usually on the stage the spy is the enemy, a German. In M. de Curel's play the spy is a Frenchman, and what a spy! He kills in cold blood a Lorraine peasant, that is to say, a Frenchman, whose only crime is that he chances to see and recognize the spy. This spy, while hiding at a Lorraine farm, meets a German princess. They become lovers. Then, to avoid the chance of denunciation, he decides to kill her. However, as this would be a bit disagreeable, he lets his mother attend to it, and himself escapes. The role of the German princess carries off the honors. Do you think that the audience protests? Not in the least; the audience applauds her with the wildest enthusiasm. Even the nationalist dailies assert that de Curel's drama is a masterpiece, and liken it—with what exaggeration!—to the masterpieces of Sophocles and Shakespeare. And these audiences do not belong to the Left nor are they made up of democrats. They are society audiences, subscribers to the nationalist newspapers. This seems a slight fact in itself, yet how significant it is. The French people no longer cherish implacable hatred of the Germans, and the collaboration of these two peoples—a real basis for the peace of the world—can be organized and must be if ever a solution is found for this accursed and terrible question of reparations.

Will it be solved by the occupation of the Ruhr? The political parties of the Right think so, or at least they say so. Their most violent daily *l'Action Française* howls it day in and day out. It was their pressure that led M. Poincaré to embark on this adventure. It is not the result of an impulse of hatred on the part of the French people against the German people. Quite the contrary, this hatred was disappearing. The Ruhr adventure is the work of a reactionary minority which chances to hold the reins of power and, being master of the great dailies, has made part of the nation believe that a show of energetic violence will force Germany to pay.

Already the first object lessons have changed the mind of many who trusted the governmental press. In the Left and even in certain moderate groups people are beginning

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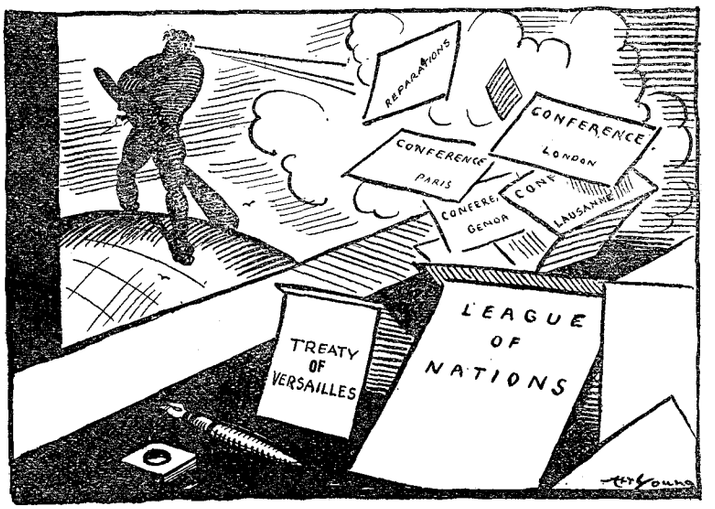
to think that the only means of solving the reparations problem is by appeal to that League of Nations toward which a short time ago public opinion in France was cool. The League of Nations as established by the Treaty of Versailles is very imperfect, first, because that treaty did not provide it with means of practical action, sanctions, and coercion; furthermore, because it is rather a league of ambassadors from the various governments than a league of representatives of the peoples; and, finally, because with neither Germany nor Russia in the League it is far from having a complete European basis. Such as it is, however, the League has rendered real service, not alone in creating a high international court but also in solving the dangerous problem of Upper Silesia and resuscitating a dying people, the Austrians.



The statesmen build their card-houses and the old giant, Economic Necessity, blows them over.

The Covenant of the League authorizes and almost invites it to consider the question of reparations and military occupation of the Ruhr. Article 19 reads: "The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world." It would be natural that, when giving this advice, the Assembly of the League should formulate recommendations and suggest solutions. But the League must itself be urged by some *mouvement d'opinion*. This movement of opinion has long been taking form in England, where the Labor Party never misses a chance to demand an appeal to the League in the reparations question. It reached the Continent recently at the Hague congress convoked by international labor organizations with a view to opposing the united will of workers to all plans for war. To this congress had come, not only proletarian groups but also bourgeois organizations such as the French Association for the League of Nations and the League for Peace through Law. As a result of the Hague conference the French General Confederation of Labor has just given the following advice to French workmen: "Demand that the reparations question be submitted immediately to a tribunal of arbitration. The League of Nations should be requested by us to settle this economic difference by removing it from political competition, military ambition, and financial and capitalistic intrigue." The Socialist Party in its national congress held at Lille in early February asked for "the establishment by the League of Nations and in behalf of Germany of some method of international credit which would immediately permit indispensable payments to the devastated countries, the strengthening of German finance, the stabilizing of exchange, and the restoration of normal economic relations between nations—in other words, the solution at one and the same time of the two indissoluble problems, the reparation of the devastated regions and the economic reconstruction of Europe."

This appeal of the French working class and the Socialists to the League of Nations has great historical importance. Hitherto the French worker had seen in the League of Nations only an example of "bourgeois" ideology. He now sees in it, even in its present form, so imperfect and so little democratic, the true instrument of peace.

The pacifist or pacific organizations in France are all inclined, not to brutal expedients like the occupation of the Ruhr, but to intrusting the League of Nations with the settlement of the reparations question. There is, for example, the French Association for the League of Nations, founded by M. Léon Bourgeois, who has just resigned as president of the Senate. Its president is M. Paul Appell, an eminent scholar, rector of the Academy of Paris. In it are moderates and democrats, conservatives and Socialists, freethinkers and Christians, but the moderates are in the majority. No great Parisian daily has published the important fact that the executive committee of this association has just voted unanimously the following resolution: "The association, recalling the satisfactory precedents of Upper Silesia and Austria, recommends that the reparations problem be submitted to the League of Nations."

There are other associations of the same sort in France federated under an executive committee of which M. Appell is also president. It just voted that "The federation, without contesting the correctness of the French interpretation of the Treaty of Versailles, recommends that the problem of reparations and interallied debts be referred to the League of Nations." *The Nation* has already printed the resolution unanimously voted by the strongest democratic organization in France, the League of the Rights of Man, which has more than a hundred thousand members, scattered over the country and belonging to all social strata.

These manifestations show how false is the assertion of the great Paris press that France is unanimous in supporting its Government in the military occupation of the Ruhr and in measures of systematic violence. No small number of the "elite" of France, the flower of the manual workers, the flower of the intellectual workers, disapproves of the occupation of the Ruhr, which rouses the entire German people against the entire French people and also isolates France. America should know that these tendencies exist, especially in the political groups of the Left, and that if this is not known it is because the Paris press systematically conceals the fact. Fortunately there is about to appear in Paris an important republican-democratic newspaper, the *Quotidien*, which will take the lead in expressing such opinions as I have outlined, and will show France as she is.

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Galgenhumor

By CHARLES RECHT

BERLIN, the ponderous heart of Prussia, amuses itself. In the crooked mirror which it holds up, grotesque mimicry grins at the reality surrounding it—and reality laughs and applauds while the mark keeps its downward pace, and everyone speaks threateningly of the coming revolution. Humor there is, a plentiful humor of despair—*Galgenhumor*, the humor of the gallows.

First, the wine. The German champagne, the *Schaumwein*, or what one may term the shamwine of the *Nachtlokal*, for which the Americans pay sums out of the reach of the Berliner, has the strength of a bottle of good ginger ale and produces a forced hilarity, when the eyes sparkle because the mind is bored to tears. And in these places sit *Schiebers* and foreigners. Foreigners with bulging, boiled shirts ogle the women and shout to each other in the accents of Potash and Perlmutter: "And all it cost me was fifty cents," or, "throw that waiter another hundred, Jake, it's only three cents." And the waiter carries the plate with a dignity with which he might have carried the battleflag for his fatherland. Without ventilation, in curtains of dense smoke, these men sit through barrels of *Schaumwein*, staring at endless, bad imitations of bad American tangoes, and promising each other that they will tell the boys back home that "this is the life." Possibly when they reach the waiting taxi the war cripples who hop to open the doors wonder at these ambassadors of our democracy.

There are women—on Unter den Linden, Friedrichstrasse, in the lobbies of the hotels, at the cabarets, in the *Nachtlokals*. Most of them understand English and are familiar with the American and the English valutas. Women—some of formerly respectable families—who dress flashily (in clothes made in Germany), and offer themselves to "die Kavaliere vom Ausland."

And there is entertainment—no end of it. These children of Wagner now have their lighter moments. There are many great playhouses where dramas are beautifully given, but to one opera there are numberless cabarets, musical comedies, revues, dance halls, and dance palaces.

The review, or revue, should give an index to the essence of Berlin's light hilarity. It is in many ways a departure from the Follies of Broadway, from the Casino de Paris, or the Bataclan—for it is sincerely ugly. There is, for instance, "Europa spricht davon" (It's the Talk of Europe) playing at the Komische Oper. To be sure, one should realize the plight of the German stage. Necessity has mothered the invention of musical shows which could be played without expensive scenery, and at the present time there are some musical comedies playing with six characters, and sets as simple as the cast. It was this tendency which induced Reinhardt to put on the wonderful and unique performance of "Orpheus in the Underworld" in an entirely new way and far more effectively than had he used all the expensive decorations which this exotic piece generally requires. This is playing now for the second year in Reinhardt's wonderful palace dedicated to the theater—Grosses Schauspielhaus. But whereas in "Orpheus" we witness a new art via economy, in "Europa spricht davon" we reach, via economy, no economy of ugliness. Such costumes as have not been borrowed from Paris are made of paper, and the dance is atrocious, with the exception of the somewhat amateurish "Mr. Jackson mit seinen englischen Girls" who do jig and clog dancing. The adolescent chorus ladies disclose wearily their bony charms and lack of grace, the risque jokes are stale and commonplace, and the entire production shows the lack of good taste of the Germans in all endeavors of this character. But there are in the piece one or two topical, political numbers which are of interest. In one, "Before the Rose Window of Notre Dame," the Devil reviews the conditions on earth. The other characters are War, Murder, Thief, Profiteer, Alcohol, Spendthrift, and Prostitute. In this indictment of after-war conditions, the German shows his sincerity, and it has the proper artistic finish. Of the same nature is a scene in a millinery shop where Dame Germania, singing, selects different hats. After declining the hussar's helmet and throwing away an astrachan cap with the Soviet star on it, she selects a modest white hat with the national republican colors. There are many passages in the production showing bitter resentment against the foreigners, with a particularly strong undercurrent against the Americans who come to settle in Germany and live there principally because of the low valuta. Another act is called the International Jazz Band and the characters are Lloyd George, as the leader of the band, Poincaré, Chicherin, Korfanty, Masaryk, Schanzer, and Germania. In this there is some humor and originality, whereas whenever the producers attempt Parisian lightness or passion they fail.

The serious play seems to be suffering at the instance of trashy but commercially attractive productions. At the Trianon Theater one can see, probably, the greatest living comedienne, Fräulein Erika Glässner, waste her charming abilities in a bedroom farce of a character which could make even our bedroom farce specialists blush.

On the other hand, there is the legitimate drama. There is a premiere at the Deutsches Theater. The house is packed with an audience bearing in the highest degree the stamp of German culture. Americans are absent and the only foreign language spoken is Russian; there are one or two Japanese sitting in one of the boxes. The offering, Wedekind's "Samson and Delilah," gives sway to all the brutality of primitive types. The theme is treated by Wedekind in the light of the sadistic and passivistic inclinations of the two leading characters. Our critics would, doubtless, call it an "exhibition of erotic abnormality." The play is faultlessly cast and presented. Agnes Straub, whom I saw in February in Hebbel's "Judith" present to an audience the splendid acting opportunities of that older play, gives an excellent interpretation of Delilah. When in the end the blind Samson climbs up to the two pillars and covers the corpse of the beautiful Delilah and the carnal feast of Og with the falling debris, the audience bursts into loud applause and the curtain rises many times until the director answers the call. I watched the Japanese. Their curious eyes showed a strange light, and I wondered what they thought of these children of such barbaric ancestry.

Though the social fabric has deteriorated and Berlin in many ways resembles Moscow, the chances of a revolution in Germany are really quite remote. Let the mark move like the finger on a ouija board, let the *Schiebers* and the foreigners drive their cars on Unter den Linden and take their morning horseback ride in the Tiergarten, the laboratory habit goes on. If by chance Germany should turn communist the President or the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars would probably be called Hochwohlgeborener Herr Genosse Wirklicher Geheimrat Schmidt.

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A Portmanteau Anthology of German Verse

Versions by LUDWIG LEWISOHN

Star Morals

Unto a heavenly course decreed,
Star, of the darkness take no heed.

Roll onward through this time and range!
Its woe to thee be far and strange!

To utmost worlds thy light secure:
No pity shall thy soul endure!

But one command is thine: be pure!

FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE

Song of the Road Mender

I am no councilor, I am not kingly,
I am neither priest nor a hero bold;
No colored ribbon nor any title
Is given to me nor wage of gold.

I've got to smash you, tough, stony fragment;
The splinters scatter, the sand flies wide.
"Poor lout I've gotten," my father grumbled.
"Take my old hammer." And then he died.

Today, poor devil, I've eaten nothing;
The All-Compassionate has closed his hand.
I have been dreaming of golden vintage
And breaking stones for the fatherland.

KARL HENCKELL

The Lord of the Isle

Fishermen will relate that in the South
Upon an island rich in spice and oil
And precious stones that glitter in the sand,
There dwelt a bird who, standing upon earth,
Could tear the crowns of lofty trees asunder
With his strong beak; who, lifting up his wings,
Dyed as with ichor of the Tyrian snail,
Unto his low and heavy flight, had been
A shadow in seeming, like a somber cloud.
By day he vanished in the olive groves,
But evening ever brought him to the shore
Where in the coolness of the salt sea-breeze
He raised up his sweet voice, and dolphins came
Who are the friends of song across a sea
With golden feathers filled and golden sparks.
Thus lived he since the making of the world
And only shipwrecked sailors saw his form.
But when for the first time the snowy sails
Of man, guided by fortunate winds, had turned
Unto his island—to its topmost hill
He rose surveying that beloved place
And spreading out his mighty pinions
Departed with a muffled cry of pain.

STEFAN GEORGE

Night

Often this thought wakens me unawares,
That through the chill of night a vessel fares
Seeking an ocean, touching on a shore
For which my soul must yearn forevermore,
That in still places which no sailor knows
A crimson, undiscovered Northlight glows,
That an unknown and lovely woman's arm
Pulses amid the pillows, white and warm,
That one long destined to become my friend
Finds in an alien sea a somber end,
And that my mother, strange and far apart,
Speaks at this hour my name within her heart.

HERMANN HESSE

Two

Her hand a goblet bore for him—
Her chin and mouth curved like its rim—
So gentle yet so sure her tread,
No drop was from the goblet shed.

So gentle and so firm his hand:
A tameless steed allured his daring,
And with a gesture swift, uncaring,
He forced its trembling form to stand.

But when at last from her pale hand
He was to take the cup of gold,
Too heavy for them both it was:
For they so trembled like the grass,
That neither hand the other found
And on the ground the dark wine rolled.

HUGO VON HOFMANNSTHAL

The Good Man

His is the empire of the constellations,
He holds the conquered world between his fingers,
Immortal on his countenance is laughter,
War is his being, triumph is his tread.

And where he is and where his hand outstretches,
And where resounds the shout of his commanding,
The injustice at the core of things is shattered,
And all creation grows to God and One.

Unconquerable are his tears, for by them
The world is builded and all vision flooded,
And wheresoever his goodly tears are falling
All form is self-consumed and finds itself.

Incomparable is his indignation.
Lashed to his destiny's fiery stake he standeth,
And at his feet writhes, blinded by confusion,
The Worm of Evil crushed forevermore.

And when he passes there will be beside him
Two Angels with whose heads the spheres commingle,
Who jubilate through rains of golden fire
And smite a silver thunder from their shields.

FRANZ WERFEL

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In the Driftway

THE Drifter, in search of wisdom, went the other day to his friend Mr. Donovan; he was in an expansive mood. "Now who," he was saying as the Drifter entered, "would you say was the greatest American, living or dead? You might say Abraham Lincoln, or Thomas Jefferson, or —being a contrary-minded cuss (this was directed at the Drifter)—you would likely say Mr. Dooley! But me, I say P. T. Barnum; let any man name a better choice!"

* * * * *

IT was only too true. After listening to Mr. Donovan discourse on the talents of the King of Humbuggery, the Drifter went home and let the greatest of advertisers and publicity men speak for himself. Barnum, in his "Recollections," tells of one of his first exploits after the American Museum passed into his hands. A man came into the office of the Museum's proprietor asking for work; Barnum gave him five common bricks:

"Now," said I, "go and lay a brick on the sidewalk at the corner of Broadway and Ann Street; another close by the Museum; a third diagonally across the way . . . put down the fourth on the sidewalk in front of St. Paul's Church; then, with the fifth brick in hand, take up a rapid march from one point to the other, making the circuit, exchanging your brick at every point, and say nothing to any one . . . and at the end of every hour by St. Paul's clock show this ticket at the Museum door; enter, walk solemnly through every hall in the building; pass out, and resume your work."

* * * * *

THE inevitable result was that whenever this strange individual with his insane occupation stopped work long enough to march through Mr. Barnum's Museum, dozens of curious persons would follow him, each one paying the price of admission to Mr. Barnum for his pains—as cheap a publicity stunt, probably, as was ever devised, and one that lasted until the crowds following the brick-layer began to obstruct traffic. On one occasion Barnum got into difficulties with the venerable vestrymen of St. Paul's. The time was July 4, when American patriotism is at its boiling-point; Barnum, although forbidden by the vestrymen, had strung American flags across the street from the Museum to a tree in the churchyard. The street was packed with people, and the rash vestrymen allowed themselves to be decoyed into the midst of the crowd to utter their protest. "I tell you," said the outraged churchman, "that if these flags are not taken down in ten minutes, *I* will cut them down." Assuming an angry air, Barnum rolled up his sleeves and exclaimed in a loud tone: "Well, Mister, I should just like to see you dare to cut down the American flag on the Fourth of July; you must be a 'Britisher.' . . ."

* * * * *

AND of course the crowd saw to it that no "Britisher" interfered with the sacred emblem, and Barnum won again. Many stories have been told of him, but he told most of himself: of the elephant (with "Barnum's American Museum" painted on his sides) who was set to plowing on a field next to the railroad (and whose keeper had to follow the time-table carefully); of the day when the crowds refused to leave the Museum to make room for others clamoring to enter, and Barnum's sign "To the Egress" lured them out in search of another wild and curious beast.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

One Who Wants to Get Married

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Until January 10 when the French marched into the Ruhr my fiancée and I hoped to be able to save enough to buy furniture for our own home. Now that the mark has collapsed that seems impossible. While prices are six to eight thousand times higher than in 1914, wages are only five or six hundred times higher. A pound of margarine, which cost half a mark in 1914, now costs 3,600-4,000 marks; meat has mounted from seventy-five pfennigs to 4,000 marks; rice from twenty-five pfennigs to 900 marks; bread, which sold at one mark for a ten-pound loaf, now costs 900 marks a six-pound loaf if you have a coupon, or 3,600 marks in the open market. A hundredweight of brown coal (that is the only kind we can get) cost fifty pfennigs in 1914, and now costs 4,000 marks. Such a suit as one bought for fifty marks before the war now costs 200,000 marks; a pair of shoes costs 40,000 marks instead of ten; and whereas one reckoned the cost of furnishing five rooms at 2,400 marks in 1914, it now costs five or six million marks to furnish a single bedroom and kitchen.

My salary in the land-survey office at Minden amounts to 102,000 marks a month. (In 1914 a 27-year-old man in my position earned 175-225 marks per month.) Out of this I have to pay 38,000 marks a month for meals (500 marks each for dinner and supper, and 250-300 marks for breakfast); my one room costs me 2,000 marks; light and heat (evenings only), 8,000 marks; laundry, 2,500 marks; sickness insurance, 7,000 marks; resoling a pair of shoes, or other repairs, 7,500 marks; and the 10-per-cent income tax, 10,000 marks. That leaves 27,000 marks for clothing and incidental expenses—and one suit costs 200,000 marks. My fiancée earns 24,000 marks a month in a laundry at Herford; since she lives with her mother, who has a garden, her living costs her only 5,000 marks. Thus if we buy no clothes we may save about 40,000 marks a month. At that rate if the mark declines no further we reckon we can afford to get married in ten or fifteen years!

Under these circumstances I appeal for help. In return I can only offer to send you curiosities such as municipal paper money, Bielefeld cloth money, aluminum coins struck in commemoration of the constitution, iron money, or porcelain money.

WILHELM M., and my fiancée ILSE H.

Minden, Germany, February 6

"They All Lied"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Permit me to make three points in connection with Mr. Lewis Gannett's article They All Lied which appeared in *The Nation* of October 11:

1. The allegations, carried by the newspapers of the whole world, which were made during the Sukhomlinov trial, to the effect that the former Russian Minister of War, Sukhomlinov, and the Chief of the General Staff, General Janushkevich, arbitrarily instigated the general mobilization at the end of July, 1914, and deceived the Czar, who was opposed to mobilization, have been refuted in a credible manner by the man who was at that time the chief of the mobilization division of the Russian General Staff, General Dobrorolski. His book, "The Mobilization of the Russian Army in 1914," has been published in German by the German Publishing Society for Politics and History in Berlin.

2. A military convention was signed between Germany and Austria-Hungary early in 1909, which was then added to year by year. At the beginning of the war it was in force. Although this military convention is not mentioned in Professor Pribram's book "The Secret Treaties of Austria-Hungary," it has been published in its exact wording by the former Chief of the

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General Staff of the Austrian-Hungarian army, Field Marshal Conrad, in his "From My Service Years," published by Rikala in Vienna, together with supplementary conventions of 1910 and 1911 (vol. I, pp. 379-402, 631-634; vol. II, pp. 54-62, 102-109).

3. At the time of the Morocco crisis in 1911 Germany could not let things come to a war because in that situation it could not count on either of its two allies. Italy had already announced in the year 1896 that it would not consider the *casus foederis* as coming to pass in case France in combination with England should attack Germany. (See Pribram, p. 237 ff.) As regards Austria-Hungary, the then Hungarian Prime Minister, Count Khuen, declared in the Hungarian House of Representatives that Morocco lay "quite aside from the allied duties of Austria-Hungary." (See also my book, "Kaiserliche Katastrophenpolitik," pp. 74, 184 ff.)

Vienna, January 1 HEINRICH KANNER

[We have not seen General Dobrorolski's book but we cannot understand how it could possibly refute the testimony of Generals Sukhomlinov and Janushkevich themselves. General Sukhomlinov's diaries, published in Moscow, confirm the story of the midnight deception of the Czar.—EDITOR THE NATION.]

What Would Dr. Grant Teach the Child?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The question as to the deity of Christ which has been raised publicly lately by a number of Trinitarian Christian clergymen—more recently by Dr. Percy Stickney Grant of the Church of the Ascension—can have little or no value to the progress of civilization when taken merely as a religious controversy. What one or more clerics, or, indeed, laymen believe or disbelieve is largely their own concern, and, according to our Constitution, a matter of individual liberty and right to worship God in one's own way. In the case of a cleric it naturally follows that he must teach what he is ordained to teach or leave that church.

Only when viewed from the child standpoint—from the standpoint of what is taught to the child as the truth by a religious teacher, whether in or out of the parochial schools—can this question lift itself into the prominence of dignity, because the early impressions made on the child-mind by the teacher influence its life greatly and it is therefore important above all that the teacher is an honest teacher.

It fell to my lot, while delving independently into the science of education in England, to examine closely into the doctrines taught to children by the various religious sects—more particularly into those of the Episcopal church, which, in common with other Trinitarian Christian churches gives instruction to 500 million little children. A chain of unusual circumstances led me to address myself to the Bishop of London as to whether the church taught that Christ is God. After some evasions, the reply came from the bishop's chaplain that the "church has everywhere and at all times taught the foundation truth of her faith that Christ is God." This information was marked "private, simply meaning that I do not wish it published," and the reason for privacy became apparent when subsequent letters explained that I would not find the statement "Christ is God" either in the Bible or the creeds in use in the church because the words "Christ is God" are "not strictly accurate"; because the phrase is "improper," "loose," and "incorrect," the Bishop of London himself writing "the statement that Christ is God is of course incomplete because it is but half the truth" and the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom I appealed, writing that Christ is God "is final dicta which neither the Archbishop of Canterbury nor anyone else can of his own authority give."

But this was not all. Not only did the church's letters to me admit that "the foundation truth of the church's faith that Christ is God" is not strictly accurate, is loose, improper, incorrect, half the truth, and without authority anywhere, but actually disclosed the device by which this admittedly equivocal teaching is given to little children by the official teachers of the church without incurring official responsibility. Startling as it may appear, these letters explained that the church allows her clergy the latitude to employ two languages—namely, those of accurate "technical theology" and inaccurate "popular religion"; furthermore, every clergyman is invested with two roles: one, a responsible official of the church; the other, an irresponsible "Christian," and that, whereas the clergy were not permitted to give the doctrine "Christ is God" when speaking officially in the accurate language of "technical theology," they had the latitude to teach that "Christ is God" when assuming the role of "Christian" and using the inaccurate "language of popular religion."

Where does Dr. Percy Stickney Grant stand, as rector of an Episcopal church, in the face of this mass of incontrovertible documentary evidence of the wilful perversion of the child as to truth by all Trinitarian Christian teachers? What would his answer be to a little child who asked him "Is Christ God?"

Brooklyn, March 1 LAWRENCE STERNER

The Railroad Workers Hold Out

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It can be conclusively demonstrated that the fight against the railway shopmen has cost the railroads $600,000,000. This sum, of course, will be met directly or indirectly by the public. What it has cost the shopmen, their organizations, their wives and children, cannot be estimated. Something of what it is costing them now can be told and should be known. There are approximately 200,000 still out on the roads which have not settled the strike. The record of their sacrifices for what they believe to be a principle is a very remarkable story. I shall never forget an interview with one of the older men in Birmingham, Alabama. I asked if he was one of the shopmen, and this was the substance of his reply: "I've been working for the L. & N. twenty years. I was just beginning to feel comfortable about the future and was buying a home just outside the gates of the L. & N. shops. They are trying in every way to force me to come back. I don't know how I'm going to meet the next payment on my little house, but I know I ain't going to give up my principles and I ain't going to go back on the other fellows."

One of the heaviest burdens which the men and their organizations have to face is the burden of false arrest, imprisonment, and the fabulously exorbitant bails that have been required. Following the alleged confession of a man who has since been proved to be a company spy, one shopman was arrested and his bail fixed at $45,000. In one place 45 cases of alleged violation of the injunction against the shopmen have been filed. The cost of bail, court trial, and maintenance of families of the men on trial has been very heavy.

The physical suffering of the women and children is great. In one place I found that there was no coal and but little food—in homes where six hundred people were living.

The case of the railway shopmen is unique. The railroads which have refused so far to settle with their men have been openly condemned by the executives of other railroads as well as by the action of these latter roads in reaching a settlement. If, therefore, the men who are still on strike lose now, it will mean not only the loss of their cause, but the triumph of the policy of the less liberal, humane, and just railway executives.

The issue will probably be settled one way or the other within the next two months. The railway executives believe the shopmen can last but a few weeks longer. On the other hand, the leaders of the shopmen are confident that if they can last these few weeks, the railroads will be compelled to reach a settlement because of the inefficiency and the inadequacy of the work being done by the strike-breakers in the shops. It cannot be denied that the shopmen have come practically to the end of their resources, and that unless there is substantial assistance almost immediately they cannot meet the situation. Those who wish to contribute may send their checks to me at 1130 Fifth Avenue, New York.

New York, February 24 RICHARD W. HOGUE

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Gestation

By BEN RAY REDMAN

Lips tightly pursed, and long brow wrinkled up
In comic furrows for inducing thought,
You grope for words; not finding those you sought,
You suck in breath and stammer, as you cup
Lean chin in clawing hand, and strangely twist
Your body in gestative struggles, while
We sit in silence, tempted first to smile,
Then burning with desire to assist.

We wait, alert, intense, with growing strain,
To greet the promised infant of your thought.
You gasp and gurgle, stutter on again:
Deliverance must come! Our brains are taut.
But all that comes is silence. Then, in vain,
You recommence your pantomime of pain.

Books

A Good European

Georg Brandes in Life and Letters. By Julius Moritzen. Colyer. $1.75.

"IT was difficult to account for the repulsion and even terror of Georg Brandes which I heard expressed around me whenever his name came up in general conversation," wrote Edmund Gosse in that charming volume, "Two Visits to Denmark," where he has recorded his first impressions of his great Danish colleague. With characteristic discretion, Mr. Gosse waited nearly forty years before he published this account of his pilgrimage to the Denmark of that "Transition Period," whose herald and man of destiny Georg Brandes was designed to be. It was in 1874 that the English critic first met "a tall, thin, young man—he was then just thirty-two, and looked less—gentle and even mild in appearance, pale, with a great thatch of hair arched over a wide forehead." Such was the youthful Brandes, whose name was a portent of evil in all respectable society, "a Jew," as Mr. Gosse says, "an illuminated specimen of a race little known at that time in Scandinavia, and much dreaded and suspected." Moreover, he was "an angry Jew, with something of the swashbuckler about him, shouting that mental salvation was impossible without a knowledge of 'foreign devils' like Taine and John Stuart Mill and Schopenhauer."

The circumstances of that meeting were typical of Georg Brandes, who "looked bored at being disturbed and bit the feather of a pen rather querulously," but, as soon as he heard the name of his visitor, he led him in, plied him with many questions, and immediately engaged him in a discussion on Swinburne, whose "Songs before Sunrise" Brandes had just been reading. The book was then a recent and much-debated work, and it was characteristic of the whole career of the Danish critic that it should be already on his table, and that he should at once plunge into a conversation about it, when chance brought a compatriot of the poet to his door. A few years later a German caller might have found the same critic engaged upon a volume entitled "Beyond Good and Evil," by an obscure professor, whose discovery is only one of the many acts of critical alertness and discrimination to the credit of Georg Brandes. One can hardly think of him at any period of his great career when a visitor would not have found him, as Mr. Gosse did, surrounded by books, yet never buried in them, but abreast of them all, in spite of their multitude, and very much alive to the significance of the newest of them.

When I first entered Georg Brandes's study I had no sooner declared my nationality as Irish than I was met by the shrewd query: "A real Irishman or a Unionist?" And in a moment it was clear to me that, for all his absorption in European literature and politics, Brandes had found time to acquire a more intelligent conception of the Irish political situation than most people outside Ireland itself. When he heard that I had lived in America, he produced from the chaos of books and papers on his table a volume by H. L. Mencken, at that time little more than a vague name to more than a handful of Americans, and very soon we were discussing a group of American writers who are nowadays as representative as they were a few years ago obscure. The freshness of mind, the intellectual vigor, the indefatigable curiosity where art and ideas are concerned, of this veteran of European culture, were the attraction of many conversations, and remain a memory of which I am proud.

When a critic achieves a world-wide reputation there is more occasion for wonder than when a poet, a dramatist, or a novelist reaches out beyond the limits of his own borders. When that critic is a citizen of a country with only two and a half million population, whose language is rarely studied by foreigners, the phenomenon is all the more remarkable. And when one finds that critic, long after the Scriptural span of life, still the dominating and challenging figure of his nation, the case is obviously one of unusual distinction. Such is the position of Georg Brandes today. There has been no figure in literature like his since Taine, but unlike Taine his language has no international currency. Indeed, it is a curious fact that almost nothing of Brandes is available in French. Even his "Main Currents" has never been translated in France, except the one volume on the "Romantic School," and a small volume of his essays is the only other book of his in French. Nevertheless, his name stands out today as one of the great survivors of an era when "good Europeans," civilized men of cosmopolitan and international culture, were less rare than they have become since Europe began her march back to barbarism. In the Scandinavian countries, moreover, there is discernible something of the spirit which Mr. Gosse noticed when Brandes was mentioned in 1874. My own conclusion was that Denmark is divided into two parts, those who are with Brandes and those who are against him. It is a testimony to the youthfulness of his old age that one can still upset the equilibrium of a literary gathering in Copenhagen by a show of more than lukewarm interest in him.

Fifty years ago it was the elders who resented him, now it is the orthodox youth, the strange generation of precocious conservatives which is as characteristic of the new Europe as the Senegalese troops in Goethe's house at Frankfort. Only the other day I noticed an echo of old yet current Danish controversies in an article on Scandinavian literature in an American review, where the writer declares that "it is a pity that Georg Brandes has stood before the outside world as representative of Danish intellectual life." It seems he is too "negatively nationalistic," he lacks "warmth and geniality," in short he is not a typical householder. Similarly, I suppose Shelley was not as representative of England as Winston Churchill or Horatio Bottomley. Mr. Moritzen, who is an enthusiastic admirer, but a rather inadequate biographer and critic of Brandes, does not seem to be aware of the intensity of feeling in Denmark on this subject. Official recognition, largely at the hands of men who had grown up with him, a generation molded by the ideas of which Brandes himself was the prophet, does not present the contrast with his treatment as a young man which Mr. Moritzen emphasizes. Even after the war, when Denmark had recovered from her illusions about the Allies and her terror of Germany, which had combined to turn opinion against Brandes because of his logical, honorable, and clear-sighted attitude of neutrality, I noticed everywhere a resentment against him. It seemed to me little more rational than an almost subconscious jealousy.

The life of Georg Brandes has been one of challenge and combat, of criticism that is creative and constructive, and the

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record of his accomplishment is the final answer to his opponents. As the intellectual mentor of his own country he can claim for his disciples such men as Holger Drachmann, J. P. Jacobsen, Erik Skram, and Sophus Schandorph, and as the interpreter of Scandinavian literature abroad he can point to his championship of Kielland, Strindberg, Ibsen, Björnson; his writings on Oehlenschlaeger, Holberg, and Andersen. There is hardly a writer in the Scandinavian countries, from Holberg to Johannes V. Jensen, about whom he has not had an effective and timely word to say. He translated John Stuart Mill; was the first to recognize Nietzsche; and his studies of Renan, Taine, Lassalle, and the French realists; his classical study of Shakespeare, show him as the intellectual bridge between Scandinavia and the rest of Europe. His "Main Currents in Nineteenth Century Literature," of which the first volume was written before the author was thirty, remains, of course, as the finest monument to his peculiar genius and its most typical expression.

Mr. Moritzen briefly deals with that great body of his early work, but stresses chiefly such recent books as the "Goethe," the "Voltaire," "Julius Caesar," and "Michelangelo Buonarroti," apparently because they have not yet appeared in English. The productivity of an old age which has given us these monumental studies excites Mr. Moritzen's very natural admiration, but, coupled with the scrappiness of the other chapters, this overemphasis seriously diminishes the value of his little book. In so ardent an admirer of a master so supreme in the art of critical biography Mr. Moritzen's lack of method and perspective are disappointing.

Mr. Moritzen, however, has an adequate, if inarticulate conviction of the importance of his subject. He never commits such amazing *gaffes* as Professor Hjalmar Boyesen, who reproaches Brandes with having "discredited himself by his open sympathy with anarchism," and says "nowhere has he unmasked so Mephistophelian a countenance as in his essays on Luther and on *an obscure German iconoclast named Friedrich Nietschke!*" Mr. Moritzen recognizes in Georg Brandes "a missionary of culture," as Nietzsche once called him, to the great indignation of Brandes, who denied the epithet, "because I have never seen a missionary who did not moralize." The repudiation of such a phrase reveals the quality of the man, whose life has been consecrated to the liberation of the mind, to the championship of freedom, but who has kept himself singularly free of the cant of liberalism. But the freedom he set out to achieve for himself and for others was intellectual liberty, the only kind which has ever meant anything permanent in human history. His doctrine and his life have been those of "a good European." Just as he so aptly coined the term "aristocratic radicalism" to describe Nietzsche, so the Nietzschean ideal of the good European has been perfectly realized by Georg Brandes.

ERNEST BOYD

Public Opinion

Kritik der öffentlichen Meinung. Von Ferdinand Tönnies. Berlin: Julius Springer. 1922.

THIS book by the distinguished sociologist of Kiel University is a performance thoroughly characteristic of German scholarship. In the midst of the World War and its disastrous aftermath and from out of a public activity devoted to the distressing exigencies of the day, Professor Tönnies has found sufficient detachment and strength of mind for a dispassionate theoretical survey of the whole range of individual conceptions, interests, inclinations which go to make up the sum total of what is called public opinion. The book, an impressive volume of nearly 600 large octavo pages, is no easy reading. It shows in a marked degree the author's well-known fondness for dialectical distinctions and for elaborate definitions of scientific terms. And it is a striking example of his habitual method of abstract reasoning, to which human beings and human events appear only as illustrations of the working of some hidden cosmic law. With all its wealth of concrete matter and shrewd observation of facts, the book receives thereby a curious flavor of world-aloofness; and with all its clarity of reasoning, it leaves as a prevailing impression a sense of forbidding somberness. It is a quarry of thought from which inferior, but more facile intellects will probably for a long time to come draw building material for popular use.

The first part of the book is entirely theoretical and analytic. Setting out with linguistic discussions about usage and meaning of such terms as opinion, perception, volition, belief in their application to individuals, the author arrives at his first original proposition in the thesis that there are three fundamental "aggregate states" of all opinion: the solid, the fluid, and the volatile; and this tripartite form of opinion is shown to assert itself in a great variety of ways. In proceeding, next, from individual to "common" opinions, the effects of group feelings and of group aims, both rational and irrational, upon the formation of common views are elaborately traced. There follows a chapter on "public" opinion and opinions, public being understood as embracing a multitude of different and often conflicting interests and views of corporate units, classes, occupations, religious creeds, and political parties. And with this miscellaneous public opinion—*a* public opinion, the author calls it—is contrasted, in the last chapter of the first part, public opinion in its most exact sense, i.e., as the concentrated and articulate expression of what is or purports to be the collective will, or at least the majority will, of a given national or international whole. Here the paramount influence of the press, as the principal agent in arousing public opinion to a high degree of unanimity in issues of genuinely or supposedly supreme importance, is emphasized and discussed with trenchant sagacity.

Even in this first theoretical part there is no lack of practical examples of the way in which public opinion influences human action and affairs. Parts second and third of the book are avowedly given over to empirical manifestations and specific cases of the actual working of public opinion, particularly in recent times.

Extremely illuminating is, among many other searching observations of contemporary affairs, the discussion of the three "aggregate states" of public opinion in their effect upon social, economic, political, and intellectual conditions of today. As a typical example of solidified public opinion is treated, for instance, the well-nigh universal and imperturbable belief of middle-class society in personal freedom and in the sacredness of personal property as the rock foundation of all civilized life —so imperturbable a belief that it has led most of its upholders completely to overlook the fact that the very civilization they boast of deprives millions of people to a very large extent both of personal freedom and of personal property. Fluid public opinion is well illustrated by the recent changes in the general estimation of manual work, or in the changing views about woman's part in professional and political life. Volatile public opinion, the opinion of the day, revealed itself, according to the author, never more strikingly than in the summer of 1914, in the attitude of the English public toward the insubordination of General Gough and all his officers in refusing to obey the order of the British Government to march against the self-constituted army of rebellious Ulster. Here was a clear case of militarism threatening the very existence of civil government. One would therefore have supposed that English public opinion, so prone to denounce militarism—particularly, to be sure, when manifesting itself in Germany—would have risen in indignation against the militarist usurpers of the law. Nothing of the sort happened. Instead, volatile public opinion suddenly veered around, sided with the rebellious army, and forced the Government to capitulate before it.

It would be tempting to follow Professor Tönnies into his lucid exposition of the characteristic traits of public opinion in the United States, in England, France, and Germany, and the part played by it in these countries, particularly during the

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World War. The chapter on the United States, especially, is distinguished by keen penetration and sober judgment; so that it forms a worthy counterpart and supplement to the treatment of the subject in Bryce's "American Commonwealth," of which it contains a fair and reasonable criticism. And it would be hard to find a more enlightening analysis of the destructive forces which brought about the fateful events of August, 1914, than the chapter dealing with the state of German, English, French, and Russian public opinion in the years preceding the final plunge into ruin. But enough has been said to indicate the scope and spirit of the book and to warrant the belief that, with the possible exception of Gabriel Tarde's "L'Opinion et la foule," this age has produced no work on social psychology as original, comprehensive, thorough, and philosophically detached.

Professor Tönnies concludes his work with an outlook into the future. "The future of public opinion is the future of civilization. It is certain that the power of public opinion is constantly increasing and will keep on increasing. It is equally certain that it is more and more being influenced, changed, stirred by impulses from below. The danger which this development contains for a progressive ennobling of human society and a progressive heightening of human culture is apparent. The duty of the higher strata of society—the cultivated, the learned, the expert, the intellectual—is therefore clear. They must inject moral and spiritual motives into public opinion. Public opinion must become public conscience."

Was there ever a more timely warning than this appeal to ethical thinking in the midst of nationalistic insanities and imperialistic greed?

KUNO FRANCKE

Religion in France

Histoire religieuse de la France. By Georges Goyau. Illustrations by Maurice Denis. Paris: Plon-Nourrit. 48 francs.

THIS is the first adequate account of the religious life of France. To be sure, other writers have devoted to religion an occasional paragraph or a chapter. But to those seeking a synthetic narrative the result seemed fragmentary and disconnected. True, the same objection applies to the various other aspects of history—social, political, economic, philosophic, military. To obviate the difficulty, Gabriel Hanotaux decided to assign to a different collaborator each division of his history of France in fifteen volumes. For Volume VI, which deals with religious history, he secured the collaboration of Georges Goyau of the French Academy. Goyau's contribution is a masterpiece for vividness, penetration, and impartiality. Artistically illustrated, complete, yet free from burdensome details, at once scholarly and readable, his "Histoire religieuse de la France" should appeal to the general reader as well as to the special student.

To students of questions religious, social, and political, Georges Goyau needs no introduction. Since the appearance of his searching "Chronologie de l'Empire romain" (1891), he has published nearly forty volumes. Although fond of broad generalization, he never gets lost in abstraction. His simple style, which may be compared to that of Pascal, stimulates the imagination no less than the reason. Erudition, he declares, is worthless if it serve only to becloud the horizons of history. Nor does he permit documents to interpose between his mind and latent reality. Instead of merely compiling facts, he evaluates and interprets. Thus his resurrection of the past reveals the imposing structure of the ages.

Starting with the religion of the Gauls, Goyau's narrative unfolds down through the centuries. He gives a graphic description of early Christianity, the barbarian invasions, the Gallic church as established under Clovis, and of the Carolingian period. France, as "the eldest daughter of the church," should henceforth defend the frontiers of Christendom. Our historian rightly dwells at some length upon monastic expansion and the rise of feudalism—institutions fraught with intolerable abuses.

The oustanding French character of the twelfth century was Saint Bernard, preacher of crusades, spiritual guide of the papacy, and especially founder of Clairvaux. Cluny, in yielding to the temptations of luxury, appeared to Bernard as tainted with impurities. Although refined and cultured, he retreated with his followers into the forest, where they built up a spiritual center that illuminated all Europe.

France of the thirteenth century has been called "the conscience of Christendom," a tribute based upon the superiority of her theology, philosophy, architecture, and charity. Whether or not the University of Paris was "the oven that baked the world's intellectual bread," historians are agreed that Saint Louis set new standards of charity and justice. They concede, also, the preeminence of France's architecture as displayed in her cathedrals.

Feudal abuses and the Hundred Years' War had left the clergy of Europe incorrigibly corrupt, owing partly to the baneful struggle for ecclesiastic sovereignty between the papacy and the royal power. Goyau emphatically condemns this moral decadence—excesses which made the Reformation inevitable. Thrilling, on the other hand, is his description of the Catholic renovation that followed, in which theologians, educators, writers, and missionaries vied with one another in restoring to the faith its ancient luster. In the half century from the death of Henry IV to the personal reign of Louis XIV, French Catholicism was rejuvenated. But for the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which the author stigmatizes as "cette cruauté suprême," the Huguenots, he believes, might eventually have returned to the mother church.

Illuminating are Goyau's comments upon schisms and dogmatic disputes. Gallican susceptibilities and royal encroachment upon papal sovereignty, he affirms, wrought serious harm to the church in France. In impressive strokes he paints the history of French Catholicism during the eighteenth century, the Great Revolution, the nineteenth century, and the World War. He lauds the intellectual strides of the clergy since 1850 and its success in penetrating the social and economic life of the masses. He regards as wise the recent resumption of diplomatic relations between France and the Vatican.

In his final chapter, M. Goyau considers the achievements of French missionaries. In fact, underlying his book is the conviction that France has always had an apostolic vocation. The French mind is probably the most universal and truly catholic. To the missionary cause, France unquestionably has contributed in workers and treasure more than any other country—a fact recognized by Benedict XV, who characterized her as "Mother of Saints."

WILLIAM H. SCHEIFLEY

The German Intellectual Revival

Germany in Travail. By Otto Manthey-Zorn. Marshall Jones Company. $2.

THE title of Professor Manthey-Zorn's book is distinctly misleading since the bulk of the volume is devoted to a rather superficial study of the new intellectual movements in Germany, with special attention to the drama. True, the first essay gives us a brief and somewhat one-sided picture of the struggle with p litical and social confusion which has been going on in the Kaiser's country since the defeat, but his main approach is from the literary and dramatic point of view. Thus, he believes that the "clearest indication of the coming reconstruction of Germany is the faith of an important minority that the great dramas, as the highest artistic expressions, provide the means to clear away the confusion by revealing that which is most genuine in themselves. . . ." His pictures of the People's Drama League and the *Volksbühnen* and other theater movements are accurate and useful. He could, however, have made much more of the fact that the people's theaters, those nearest to the masses, are today upholding standards of taste and decency where some of the select "free theaters" such as the Berlin

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Kammerspiele are producing plays so vile as to make one all but despair of a public which will tolerate them.

Undoubtedly Professor Manthey-Zorn is justified in taking the theater and its audiences (which today bear no resemblance whatever to the pre-war assemblages before the footlights) as one index of the spiritual confusion of the German people. But as late as last summer it could not be said that a real people's leadership had any more asserted itself there than in any other field of the intellectual activity of the Reich. It may be that the Ruhr invasion will give the impetus needed; for the moment it seems to have coalesced the political parties into at least a temporary unity. It is not without significance, too, that Schiller's "Wilhelm Tell" is being repeatedly given throughout South Germany and especially in the occupied districts. It may be, therefore, that a new Schiller will rise to the emergency. Professor Manthey-Zorn thinks that Ernst Toller, who is now writing behind prison bars and is not yet thirty, is quite the most promising of the new German poets. But, after all, the theater is only one index, and the question whether it can survive the present terrible economic and financial distress, whether one theater after another will not have to close its doors as one newspaper after another has been suspending its publication, the next few months will answer. Curiously enough, Professor Manthey-Zorn only briefly refers to the movie and its use for propaganda. Last year the monarchists were exploiting an extraordinarily artistic film portraying the life as crown prince of Frederick the Great, for the purpose of rousing feeling for the old nationalistic and imperialistic idea.

O. G. V.

Ruffled History

The French Revolution: A Historical Sketch. By Walter Geer. Brentano's. $5.

SOME day an American scholar will write a history of the French Revolution which, like Aulard's or Kropotkin's, will reveal it as a single great movement and not a series of detached episodes centering about conspicuous characters. For the great world revolutions have been movements that developed regardless of individuals. Created by similar causes, they have traversed similar ways to arrive at similar results. They have made Caesars, Cromwells, and Napoleons, but neither Caesar, Cromwell, nor Napoleon made a revolution. A history of the French Revolution ought to show, therefore, how one event determined another, the leading figures being only a secondary factor; the scene is practically of no importance.

This Mr. Geer fails to see. His entire book emphasizes scenes and characters rather than movements and makes the Revolution appear very much like the ruffles on a curtain—an irregular series of bumps and depressions—rather than a continuous dovetailing of circumstances. His account of the Ancient Regime pays little or no attention to the work of the philosophers, the chaotic state of the government, the grievances of the lower classes, but is devoted almost exclusively to a superficial account of Marie Antoinette and her husband that would make a strong appeal to the scandal-mongering undergraduate mind. To a description of the Tuileries more than five pages are devoted, but the Declaration of Rights and the Civil Constitution of the Clergy receive no mention whatever. The story of the Flight to Varennes is told with the minutest detail, even to the color of the coach in which the royal family rode, but not a word is breathed about the Massacre of the Champ de Mars. Every time a new *persona dramatis* is named, the author digresses for a paragraph to tell who he was and what he had done before his initial appearance in the book. Every time a chateau, a palace, or a prison is mentioned, again an opportunity is offered for a recess of one, two, or more pages that we may go back a few centuries to learn when it was built, by whom, at what cost, and how it changed hands. But the *cahiers* are dismissed with a few words; the work of the deputies on mission comes in for only casual treatment in a few of the biographical paragraphs; the only comment on the Law of the Suspects is in a quotation from Madelin (p. 287), while the Law of the Maximum receives not even such scant notice; and no careful analysis of the motives for the Egyptian expedition is made, leading one to suppose that it was a purposeless act of militaristic pillage rather than a part of the European warfare.

Sometimes, also, the author curiously contradicts himself. Twice (pp. 6 and 16) he states that the eighteenth-century philosophers "had but little to do with bringing on the French Revolution." And why? Because the Revolution was the work of the populace, who could not read their philosophy! Poor Jaurès! Poor Kropotkin! who taught that the Revolution was a struggle of the bourgeoisie against both the proletariat and the privileged orders! But even if we grant Mr. Geer's statement in this instance, how can we—how does he—explain another (p. 14), namely, that Voltaire "detested the Old Regime, and no one did more to bring about its downfall"? In a like manner, although he claims that the fall of the Bastille was an enterprise "of pure brigandage" (p. 89), later (p. 261) he adds that Hérault de Séchelles, one of the sterling characters of the Revolution, took a leading part in it. There are also certain contradictions of language. The entire work bristles with foreign words and phrases: we invariably find Savoie for Savoy, the Cinq-Cents for the Council of Five Hundred, and even avocat without italics. But morale is always *moral*, and (the war is not yet over!) Mülhausen is always Mulhouse!

Mr. Geer apologizes for his contempt of chronology in his preface by pleading that it would produce less confusion in the reader's mind to present facts in several parallel series rather than in their chronological sequence. The argument must be admitted a strong one. Neverthless it is somewhat disconcerting to be given the details of the insurrection of August 10 on pp. 197-201 and extracts from the Brunswick Manifesto on pp. 222-223, and then only on p. 262 to be told that the Brunswick Manifesto was one of the main causes of the August insurrection. Moreover, greater care in placing events in time would have shown the author that it went without saying that the populace of the Old Regime "had no dreams of . . . a constitution like the American" (p. 16) and that the *cahiers* of all three orders demanded a constitution "upon the English or American model" (p. 66). The two statements not only contradict each other, but are both obviously untrue, since the American constitution, drawn up in 1787 and not ratified till 1788, could not have become extensively popular in France by 1789.

Space does not allow the enumeration of the minor mistakes. After all, even the greatest of historical works contain flaws of that nature. Those in this book can be explained in large part by the author's dependence upon Stephens and Madelin, whose faults he accepts along with their merits. For the rest, the volume is beyond doubt interesting and shows an admirable knowledge of some things connected with the French Revolution.

LOUIS R. GOTTSCHALK

Music

The German Opera in New York

OPERATIC history indulged in one of its proverbial repetitions when a company of German singers came last month to the Manhattan Opera House and overturned almost as many stalls of smugly stacked and labeled apples as the redoubtable Till Eulenspiegel ever put to his credit on a market day of especially roguish adventure. Years ago, one recalls, the town had been solemnly, even mournfully, assured again and again that all the opera-singers worthy of singing in New York were already singing there, when a certain Oscar Hammerstein opened that very Manhattan Opera House, and shortly there were singing in New York a Melba, a Bressler-Gianoli, a Bonci, a Renaud, a Gilibert, a Sammarco, an Ancona, a Dalmorès, and nobody protested that any one of them was unworthy. Now

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Here comes a troupe of singers out of Germany. Only two of their number had been here before—Jacques Urlus, the Dutch tenor, who returns a bigger artist than when he left us, and Ottilie Metzger, a contralto who had once sung here in a few concerts. The rest no manager had been at pains to bring to this country.

What did we straightway learn from this neglected assemblage? That a German tenor does not necessarily mean a bombardment of separate notes as hard as steel and as relentless, but may mean beauty of tone, declamation that is musical and richly colored, a smooth delivery of sustained song. That baritones still exist for the big Wagner parts who possess fresh, vibrant voices and an ability to use them with skill and understanding. That there is no compulsion, because of a dearth of dramatic sopranos, to allot every soprano role of heroic caliber to a stretched-out contralto or a distended lyric soprano. That Germany can still boast singing women of the great Wagnerian tradition established by Materna, Malten, and Marianne Brandt, and continued brilliantly by Lilli Lehmann, Ternina, Schumann-Heink, and Olive Fremstad. That the race of genuine Wagner conductors is not extinct in Germany—conductors who lead a Wagner opera for its own worth, without finicking, without affectation, without brutality, and who through sheer knowledge and force of temperament can triumph over the imperfections of a very faulty orchestra. These are some of the truths the visiting Germans have impressed on New York.

This "Wagnerian Opera Festival" has been notable not only for the introduction of such singing-actors as Eva von der Osten, Elsa Alsen, Hutt, Lussmann, Schorr, Plaschke, and Kipnis, and such conductors as Blech and Moerike, but for the revelation of other possibilities in the local performance of the Wagner operas. In the first place, there is the Manhattan Opera House as a veritable temple of Wagner. The auditorium is ideal. Its acoustics, which are truly marvelous, superior even to those of the Prinz-Regenten Theater at Munich, transmit to the listener unfailingly and at their just value every note and every syllable of the music and the poem. It is a treat merely to sit in the darkened house and, without a suspicion of conscious effort, hear inevitably. Then, even though the Manhattan stage is not equipped for the latest developments of the theatrical producer's art, this company has the secret of accomplishing a great deal by simple means, sometimes by a mere process of judicious elimination, and the Manhattan auditorium, in addition to its golden acoustics, is, for all its size, so arranged that intimacy is possible of attainment. "Tristan und Isolde" and the "Ring" dramas have never seemed for an instant a distant fabric of stilted and turgid declamation; they have projected themselves as real plays, vital, compelling. And furthermore in "Der Fliegende Holländer" and "Die Meistersinger" the homely elements of both and the comedy of the latter have emerged at their full value. In a word, these "festival" performances have presented the master's works as literally the music dramas he called them.

The very simplification of the staging, in part, no doubt, forced on the organization by the precarious conditions of a traveling company, has made its contribution. It has proved that good sense and tact count for more in successful production than elaborate theory, endless mechanical devices, and a sumptuous equipment. Not that the scenery itself, though in some instances of a makeshift character, has been prevailingly bad. Far from it. The settings for the "Ring" and for "Tristan und Isolde" have been better designed and more artistic than we of New York are accustomed to. In the case of "Die Meistersinger" some reviewers of the performance have found fault with the second-act street scene in old Nuremberg as "provincial." They seem to prefer a prospect that looks more like the giant apartment-house section of Park Avenue. But compared with that area of jumboistic architecture exactly what old Nuremberg must have been is "provincial"!

Tristan's castle is a case of particularly apt setting. It is not a dwelling for a munitions millionaire, plus a sunken garden of exotic luxuriance. The "castle" is a modest house fashioned of rude stone, and the garden and luminous expanse of sea beyond suggest the windswept loneliness of the rocky Breton coast. The picture is absolutely true to the letter and to the spirit of the scene. Then, Isolde does not embark upon the Irish Channel in a vessel which in its magnitude and the splendor of its appointments suggests that operatic naval architecture has gone the new Majestic one ship better. This version of the primitive Cornwall packet has as much of plausibility in its favor as one can hope for in the case of a craft from which Wagner exacts so much, though precisely how this tillerless boat steers is a serious puzzle for the nautically minded. But the Metropolitan once sent Isolde to sea in the shadow of an enormous sail that somehow caught the wind without a mast to rig it to!

Perhaps the most signal triumph of this German staging is the first scene of "Das Rheingold." At last we are rid of those distracting swimming machines! Instead, in the half-darkness of the river bed, the three daughters of old Rhine disport themselves among the jutting rocks, and tease and lure Black Alberich, until of a sudden the infuriated dwarf turns the tables by cursing love and seizing their gold. And that is the way the scene ought to be staged; so, it creates an illusion. Those nixies of tradition perilously swinging in the void never did. Always one was painfully conscious of their dangling, and, despite the camouflaging gauze, one never lost the sense of ropes and wires anxiously operated from just around the corner. Moreover, our Germans don't overlight this scene. Indeed, the general moderation of their lighting in a city where opera traditionally basks in a perpetual radiance that renders midnight undistinguishable from midday, is one of the most commendable features of their productions.

From this affectionate dwelling on the staging of the Wagner operas at the Manhattan, one must not infer that it pretends to perfection or even to novelty in kind. There is nothing of the new "expressionism" in the treatment. In kind it is the conventionally "realistic" staging of long custom—staging which is content in the pursuit of scenic illusion without seeking otherwise to acknowledge and underline the presence of evasive moods and recondite meanings. The innovation lies in the happy simplification, in the successful employment of that device which, like the air we breathe and the water we drink, may normally be had as a matter of course—common sense. The reformed staging of the first scene of "Das Rheingold" is nothing but the application of common sense to a problem which in all the intricacy of Wagner's literal instructions has proved incapable of solution. It is even very likely that Wagner himself would be the first to recognize his previous error and to indorse the betterment. More emphatically even than in the case of the majority of genuine artists, Wagner's whole career was a conscious pursuit of the perfecting device. Here it exists in a discard!

The most poignant lesson of the visit of these Germans to the Manhattan is summed up in their resolute application of common sense to the presentation of the Wagner operas as vivid, living musical plays. They are given in an auditorium that is vitality itself; they are interpreted by vital artists; the direction is refreshingly vital in its immediate, practical tackling of the problems of production. It is so easy for us to forget in even a few months the wizardry of the Manhattan auditorium. It is so easy to accept as a truth evangelical the facile and uncorroborated allegation: "The best that Germany can provide in the way of singers is with us now." It is so easy through sheer inertia to stick by the old paraphernalia for staging the unstageable, though many years of cumulative defeat have taught us how vain it all is. And then along comes a traveling object-lesson and over go our stalls of pitted apples that we have cherished in our benighted sloth as the "best available." The fact is, there is always something better than the "best available." Our Manhattan Germans, even when trumpets and tubas play like wet hens, have shown us anew that there is also *the best!*

PITTS SANBORN

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Drama

Players from Moscow

IT is related of Ivan Moskvin of the Moscow Art Theater that, in the early nineties of the last century, he was dropped from both of the leading schools of acting in his native city and that even Nemirovitch-Dantchenko thought little of his talent or promise. The lad was far from handsome; he hadn't a specially good voice; he had no accomplishments, no outer brilliancy. If I knew Russian I should say without hesitation that Ivan Moskvin is the greatest actor I have ever seen. Even in my ignorance I strongly suspect it to be true. Moskvin as Czar Fyodor, as Luka in "The Lower Depths," above all as Captain Snegiryoff in "The Brothers Karamazov" rises to the utmost heights of which the art of acting is capable: he creates the faultless image of human beings. His power goes far beyond speech, far beyond gesture. He shows you the outer vestiture in perfection; he lets you see through it to the soul within that has shaped this vestiture and been shaped by it. He has no grace or charm today. In his own person he is a quiet, plain, round-faced man with the look of a scholar. But he knows, as Luka says in the play, what it is to be a human being. He can give this knowledge the highest, intensest, completest creative embodiment.

There is to be heard just now a good deal of sophisticated but unconsidered talk to the effect that the arts should abandon imitation and all approach what is known in painting as pure design. Recently it has even been elegantly and suavely argued that the actor should strive not to imitate nature but to make and then project some "pattern" or pure design of himself which shall symbolize—or, at least, so I understand it—the idea which nature has embodied in some form. The Moscow Players know that the form through which nature sends us an idea, especially if that form takes the shape of a human being, is in significance, power, splendor above the utmost reach of any artificial symbolization to which a falsely abstract art can hope to aspire. Take this wretched Snegiryoff whom Moskvin plays so incomparably. He sits there talking to Alyosha and telling a story which we piece together laboriously from the notes on the program. But when he has finished telling the story, which is not an interesting one at best, we know him. We know him forever. And though there is in this performance not a shadow of anything symbolical nor any touch of anything but the humblest, earthiest, concretest reality, we know not only Snegiryoff but we know more, a great deal more than we did, of human woe and perplexity and hope and honor. The eighteenth century proved that we couldn't know anything about man by abstracting qualities or of the world by abstracting forces. That process of abstracting was an approach to pure design. And its fallaciousness was settled once and for all by a passage in Goethe's letters: "Everything that happens *is* a symbol and, if it be perfectly represented, it points to the nature of all else." Such might be the motto of the Moscow players. Stanislavsky and the majority of his colleagues represent at its best and ripest the naturalistic school of acting. To this method the art will, I believe, always return from any wanderings however strange and far.

In this fundamental matter of the art of the theater, then, the visit of these players has been both inspiring and fruitful. There are respects in which the enthusiasm that has greeted them has been neither so sound nor so salutary. If you watched the faces of the audiences at the Jolson Theater, it became perfectly clear that a great many people were suffering the agonies of extreme boredom coupled with a determination not to let on. Perhaps it will ease a few such if I confess that one critic, at least, also suffered long and acutely. To listen to a play in a foreign language, to realize that the acting is superb and yet to lose the concrete, human texture of the lines, is an experience not easily to be risked, not lightly ever again to be repeated. I go to the theater for the play. I am glad if it be well acted; I am irritated if the interpretation is too inadequate. But the play's the thing. The theater is instrument, servant, device. I want human character and fate. To recognize these, to have them stir and enlarge and instruct me I must understand the words. And not only the bare words, but their savor and [redacted] the very special note for which each stands in the d[redacted], rich, otherwise incommunicable experience of the people to whom those words belong. Something of affectation I am bound to suspect in this reception of the Moscow Art Theater among us, and more than a little of that dangerous mistake which assigns to the theater an independent and non-interpretative function. This conviction does not prevent me from adding my homage to that which every other writer on the theater has paid to M. Stanislavsky and his colleagues.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

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International Relations Section

Count Karolyi—"Traitor"

By EMIL LENGYEL

AFTER a trial of three months the Budapest Royal Tribunal found Count Michael Karolyi, formerly Prime Minister and later President of Hungary, guilty of "high treason" and ordered his property confiscated. The conviction was obtained on the ground that defendant "has given aid and comfort to the enemy in time of war by delivering Hungary to the hostile forces of the Allies and by ordering the Hungarian national forces to lay down their arms at a time when it was his imperative duty to continue the struggle for the territorial integrity of Hungary. Furthermore, he was found guilty of having given over the country to the Bolshevists by abdicating in favor of the Hungarian Soviet Government." The confiscated property includes "all personal property and real estate of defendant lying between the boundaries of the lands of the Holy Hungarian Crown."

In the course of the trial no evidence was produced against Karolyi. The single judge, who in the absence of the jury system in contemporary Hungary passed upon the merits of the case, acted, in the opinion of unbiased observers, upon instructions of people "higher up," who lately have acquired a decisive influence in the political processes of Hungary.

Counselors for the defense, Dr. Vincent Nagy and Barna Buza, former members of the Karolyi Government, brought into strong relief the fact that not only did Karolyi not cause "the ruin of his country," as the prosecution alleged, but that his quick and energetic action had prevented a greater catastrophe which might have befallen the Hungarian forces that were standing on the fronts at the time of the armistice. The statement of Dr. Nagy is worthy of reproduction:

"It was a tragic day for Hungary when Count Stephen Tisza declared in the Hungarian Parliament that the war, his war, had been lost by the Central Powers. Depressing as was this declaration there was something consoling in it. It showed that the conviction had ripened even in the most obdurately pro-war politician that the continuation of the bloodshed would be a criminal folly. We have lost the war! Some of us had known this truth two years before Tisza had been obliged to admit it, but late as this admission came, we rejoiced over it and with us the whole of Hungary rejoiced in the expectation that at least on our part a halt would be called to this greatest crime of mankind. Then the liquidation of the war came, and we saw what, we hope, no future generation will see. We saw millions of men in the trenches who had become brutes in the exercise of their murderous job during these four terrible years. We saw the so-called "lord of creation" eating grass in agonizing hunger. The men had nothing to eat, nothing to cover their bare limbs. Some of them had been twelve times wounded, and sent back to the front as many times. They went ahead or went back as they were driven. There was not a spark of human volition in them. If a great artist could have seen these men, if he had had the divine power to depict or describe them as they were, without a tint or word of exaggeration, I am convinced that his picture would have converted millions and millions of men and women to curse the folly of war instead of glorifying it. Did you expect these men to offer serious resistance to the well-equipped armies of the Allies? Count Karolyi ordered them back to Hungary and they came in an orderly manner. Why did Karolyi order them back? Because had they been driven back, as they certainly would have been, their retreat would not have been orderly. Instead of apathetic masses we would have faced a frenzied mob."

Against the charge of conspiring with the Bolshevists the defense pointed out how utterly absurd the accusation was that a government, which very naturally clings to power to the last, conspires with its own opposition in order to hand over the reins which it is so anxious to keep as long as possible.

One of the most interesting episodes of the trial was when the ministers of the Karolyi cabinet petitioned the court to start proceedings against them, too, declaring that if Karolyi was a "traitor" so must they be because all the decisions of the cabinet had been made unanimously. The court, however, declined to consider the joint responsibility of the Karolyi ministry.

Sharp light will be thrown upon conditions in Hungary by the fact that the Budapest tribunal when ordering the confiscation of the Karolyi property based its decision upon a ministerial order issued during the war "to meet the emergencies of the war." When the defense protested against the invocation of an order the validity of which had been limited to the duration of the war, the court ruled that "in consequence of the prevailing situation brought about by the Treaty of Trianon, Hungary must be considered as still in a state of war so that the ministerial order, the validity of which had been questioned, may be applied in cases of high treason."

Another oddity of the sentence will be seen in its collision with one of the provisions of the Treaty of Trianon ordering that "no person shall be prosecuted for acts of political or diplomatical nature committed in connection with the prosecution of the war unless their punishment is required by any of the Allied or Associated Powers." It is significant to note that the Allies who are so prompt to score the "defaults" of a democratic government do not notice the violation of one of the sacred treaties when it is committed by a reactionary government.

The sentence of the Budapest tribunal orders the confiscation of the second greatest Hungarian estate. The Karolyi estate was famous not only for its vast size but also for a unique event which took place on it during the administration of Karolyi and which characterizes the "traitor" more than anything else. In the first months of his administration, Karolyi inaugurated a system of land distribution for a nominal fee among the returned soldiers whom the war had deprived of their livelihood. To stimulate the willingness of the aristocrats possessing vast tracts of land he started by distributing his own real estate holdings. When the intervening Bolshevist Government inaugurated a new method of land distribution the greater part of the Karolyi estate was already in the hands of the new owners.

The first consequence of this new confiscatory judgment will be that the land distributed by Karolyi will be taken back from hundreds of families, who will be thus driven in the arms of the most terrible penury. Final decision as to the disposition of the property of Karolyi is still pending. There is, however, little speculation regarding this final decision because there are only two solutions of the problem that are being seriously considered at present. One of them is to give the estate of Karolyi to Admiral Horthy, at present regent-governor of Hungary, as a national gift. This plan is suggested by the immediate supporters of Admiral Horthy. The word "suggested," in the previous sentence, ought to have been put between quotation marks in view of the terroristic methods by which this suggestion is being propagated. The second suggestion comes from the camp of the anti-Horthy forces. They want the Karolyi estate given over to the Board of the Order of the Heroes, set up for the glorification of those who distinguished themselves during the World War. This board consists exclusively of members of the high aristocracy. The aristocratic "heroes" would be entitled to lease the Karolyi estate to low-brow "heroes"—for full compensation. Whichever solution is accepted the present tenants of the Karolyi property will be evicted and the place of hard-working laborers will be taken either by the parasites of the Horthy system or by the "heroes" of the pogrom-brigades.

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Force Preferred to Coal

THE following statement, made public in the London *Times* for February 1, by W. R. Heatley, the late chairman of the Inter-Allied Reparation Authority at Essen, throws light upon the attitude of the Ruhr population toward the question of reparations:

In view of the public interest at present being taken in the position of the Ruhr and its coal production, it may be of interest to your readers to know something of what was the attitude of the coal-owners and workmen in the Ruhr district toward coal deliveries "in reparation" to the Allies during the period between the coming into force of the Versailles treaty and the present position of affairs.

As the late chairman of the Essen Inter-Allied Reparation Authority, I have had during that period exceptional opportunities of studying the changing phases of the question. In the spring of 1920, I took the chair at a meeting held at Waterscheid, near Essen, when representatives of the Allied Powers met about forty representative miners for the purpose of explaining to them the necessity and justice of the demands made upon the German coal mines to deliver coal in recompense for the coal mines destroyed in France and in Belgium. It was an agreeable and somewhat unexpected pleasure to us to find a ready understanding on the part of the German miners and a generous admission of the fairness of the claim. Not only were our statements met with acquiescence, but the miners who spoke were applauded when they gave as their opinion that the claim on the German coal mines was just and reasonable.

The Ruhr Invasion: A French View

The Customs Noose: ". . . Whenever you wish."

(From the *Journal* [Paris] January 29)

So much for the attitude of the workers in the Ruhr before public opinion there was irritated by the indefensible seizure of the ports of Duisburg and Ruhrort and the city of Düsseldorf.

So general was the spirit of amity and willingness to redress, which was also shared by the coal owners, that, partly as the outcome of this Waterscheid meeting, an arrangement was come to by which the miners worked extra shifts at the collieries. This resulted in an extra production of about one million tons of coal per month—equivalent, roughly, to the French demands.

Unfortunately, this spirit was not proof against the illegal seizure of Rhine towns in violation of the Treaty of Versailles and the further seizure of the Upper Silesian coal field by what appears to the Germans to be a gross miscarriage of justice on the part of a sub-committee appointed by the League of Nations. The extra shifts ceased and the extra production which had resulted from them ceased also.

Nevertheless, the German coal owner continued his efforts to work the reparation deliveries more smoothly and more effectively. In 1921 it was proposed to the French that, in order to avoid some of the confusion that was frequently arising by wrong or improperly chosen coal being sent to French consumers by official experts or official inexperts, a better system would be for the German coal syndicate to make the contracts direct with the French consumer—the money being, of course, paid to the Reparation Commission direct. This suggestion was vetoed by the French, apparently for the reason that it would have released Germany from the somewhat ignominious attitude of rendering forced service at the behest of the victor.

I state these facts in order to declare that during the three years in which I represented the British Government on the coal commission at Essen, I never found any instance of wilful opposition on the part of either the masters or men to the fulfilment of the coal reparation clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. Difficulties there were, at times, but they were those easily understandable as cases of *force majeure*, which every merchant or manufacturer, in any country whatsoever, knows from his own experience are inevitable in the execution of commercial contracts. The failures to deliver were only percentual, and were sometimes due to the failure on the part of the French distributors to give forwarding instructions. It is to be noted that France could not at all times dispose of all the German coal due for delivery. This was especially the case when trade was depressed in the iron and steel trade in France.

I leave it to others to find a justification for the present altered attitude of France in the matter of reparation deliveries of coal. Can it be that the stocks of German coal in France are now so large that she prefers to suspend them for a considerable period, and has chosen to swing a saber in the Rhineland rather than to receive coal?

A Conference of All Powers

WE print herewith the latter part of a proposal drawn up by the Willard Straight Post of the American Legion and addressed to President Harding. It is entitled The Ruhr Occupation and Europe's Crisis: A Call to Action by the United States.

The war veterans of America who have played such a vital part in the winning of the war cannot be content to let the rest of the world slide toward ruin without raising a finger to prevent this. Above all considerations of material welfare, we are conscious of sharing the common burden of maintaining and carrying forward the world-wide ideals of just peace and ordered civilization. Famine in Austria, Russia, and the Near East has met with generous response from us; the menace of a greater breakdown than we have yet witnessed shall not leave America impassively aloof.

These are the reasons which in our opinion literally impose the task of leadership upon the United States, which, because of its wealth and its position as creditor nation to the greater part of the world, is well fitted to assume such a role.

America has every reason to interest herself directly and immediately in the solution of these problems, if indeed there be any solution. Europe alone cannot resolve them; the forces set in motion can now be controlled and tamed only with the help and on the initiative of the richest and most powerful country of the world—the United States. Free from commitments, independent, just, and generous, America has at the moment the opportunity never before presented to any people to take the initiative in organizing genuine international cooperation to save civilization in the Old World and to prevent the spread of decay to the New. A year hence it may be too late.

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WHY DOES THE WORLD KNOW ABOUT THE RUSSIAN FAMINE?

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famines have been a common occurrence since the year 1891.

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We, therefore, urge our Government to call forthwith a second Washington conference to which there should be invited to attend Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Russia, and such other European Powers whose participation would be vitally important. The following agenda of principal aims of the conference is suggested.

I. Economic Aims: In the numerous proposals made by British and French authorities for modification of reparations—particularly in the report of the Allied Reparation Commission which visited Berlin early last November, and in the British and French plans presented at the Paris conference in the beginning of January, 1923—there are possibilities for a satisfactory compromise, if other conditions herein set forth are fulfilled.

1. Principal of Reparations Payments: Total reparations payments should be definitely fixed, and particularly for the sake of France the amount finally fixed should be understood to be the final, irreducible minimum. Such a figure would presumably approximate the average of estimates already made by many disinterested authorities—probably around 50,000,000,000 gold marks. The recent Allied proposals, however, while fixing reparations at a stated sum, have contained provisions for suspension of all or a part of interest thereon in the earlier years, which interest would be funded as an additional obligation of Germany, if, in the discretion of the Allied council or other board of control, such payment was in Germany's capacity. We urge the *definite fixation of the entire indemnity*, leaving nothing to be determined later. In fixing the schedule of payments great care should be taken to place the earlier instalments well within Germany's present capacity to pay. The requirement that Germany shall pay 26 per cent of the value of her exports, as stipulated in the agreement of May 5, 1921, is fundamentally unsound. Claims of the United States for expenses of occupying forces in Germany should rank equally with similar claims by other Powers.

2. Economic Boycott: The possibilities of a *joint* economic boycott against Germany in lieu of the present "sanctions" in the event of future default, should be thoroughly considered by the conference.

3. Interest on Reparations Payments: A sliding scale of rates of interest, even greater than that proposed in the recent British plan, presents an attractive inducement to Germany to recover speedily and to pay off the debt before the years of maximum coupon rates are reached.

4. Moratorium for Germany: A complete moratorium from payment of reparations should be granted to Germany for a reasonable period, in which an Allied financial council, similar to that suggested in the British plan of January, 1923, would have an opportunity to assist the German Government in stabilizing the currency and balancing the national budget.

5. A Loan to Germany: An international loan or credit to Germany in some form is absolutely necessary in the opinion of most authorities. American investors will probably not participate in a loan, nor business men advance credits to Germany, without a guaranty in addition to Germany's promise to pay. Mere pledge of specific revenues is insufficient, but collection under Allied control may be found to be incompatible with the purpose of giving Germany the greatest possible freedom in the period of probation. In the event of such a finding, guaranty by the Governments signatory to the proposed pact would commend the loan to investors, and by insuring a lower rate of interest and greater economic independence to Germany, would strengthen the ability of Germany to meet the obligation of indemnities. Priority in payment of reparations, as now provided, should be given to Belgium and France.

6. Stabilizing European Currencies: The problem of stabilizing all depreciated currencies and establishing an international control which would prevent drastic declines in the future should be studied by a special commission.

7. Equal Trade Opportunities: Having in mind that no peace can exist in Europe unless the means of life are available for all European nations, and that one term of the armistice conditions of 1918 provided for "the removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace," the Conference should adopt:

(a) An agreement for unobstructed passage of goods from country to country, subject to reasonable tariff regulations.

(b) An agreement constituting a permanent joint economic board to study, report upon, and recommend the most practical means to insure and adjust a regular and adequate supply to all countries in Europe of raw materials, food, and other necessities proportionate to respective needs. The signatories should jointly pledge themselves not to attempt, singly or in groups less than the whole body of the signatories, economic boycott and strangulation.

II. Political Aims: Security to France, Reduction of Standing Armies, and International Guaranties in Place of Military Invasions

8. "Atlantic Pact" and Reduction of Land Armaments: Recognizing alike the justice of France's claims to a measure of security and the dangers of individual action, we propose that the interested Powers—primarily the United States, Great Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, Russia, and Italy—shall jointly enter into an agreement, an "Atlantic Pact," which shall include as its salient provisions:

(a) The joint undertaking of all signatories to respect their rights to territorial possessions on the continent of Europe, and in case any controversy shall develop between them affecting their rights in the premises which cannot be settled in course of diplomacy, to confer fully and frankly with respect thereto at a special conference to be called for that purpose.

(b) The joint agreement of all signatories to contribute, by quotas fixed at the conference, to an international military and naval force, to guarantee that the Franco-German and Belgium-German boundaries, as determined by the Versailles treaty, shall not be crossed by any armed force.

(c) The limitation of the land armaments of all the signatories to fixed quotas, based on fixed ratios agreed upon at the conference, special consideration being given to France in fixing her ratio in relation to Germany. These quotas should be so much lower than the present standing armies of some, at least, of the continental Powers that a real measure of reduction of land armaments shall have been achieved.

(d) The agreement by all signatories that all questions not settled by means of diplomacy or by conference arising between the signatories, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague, the execution of whose decision in any such case shall be guaranteed by all the signatories.

9. Ruhr Withdrawal; No Further Military "Sanctions": France and Belgium in return for the pledge of security given freely by the United States and the Powers of Europe must agree to abandon immediately the dangerous adventure of the Ruhr, and to withdraw their military forces from all German territory in zones graduated to the payment of the agreed reparations. The German people must have the direct incentive before them to free their territory from the armed victor in proportion as the latter's just demands are satisfied. Wholeheartedly as we sympathize with France in her fear of another German attack, following 1870 and 1914, and with the full justice of her demand for security from another such thrust, we cannot believe that invasion for the purpose of economic strangulation and even the power, though unexercised, to dismember a vanquished Germany, can in the long run provide France with that security, or do aught but kindle anew the flames of revolt and war. France must be left with no temptation to fasten a permanent hold upon the Rhineland or to engineer a factitious separatist movement of German provinces. The signatories

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must specifically pledge themselves to renounce further military "sanctions" such as are claimed under the Versailles treaty.

FREEDOM TO NEGOTIATE: The United States delegation should be completely unrestricted in the scope and power of its negotiations.

AMERICA'S LEADERSHIP

We have tried to sketch the picture of present-day Europe and its two principal problems, reparations and French security. We have suggested certain definite essentials and desiderata in considering how these problems might be solved, or in any event their immediate menace tempered. The usual diplomatic channels would be inadequate to bring about any such drastic changes in the present loose play of Europe's economic and international relations and forces. Only in an atmosphere similar to that which surrounded the Washington Naval Conference could such an ambitious program have any chance of forcing its adoption.

The definite aims of such a conference must be unequivocally stated in advance by the United States in order that public opinion in the several interested countries shall have full opportunity to bring maximum pressure upon the respective governments and delegates to force the adoption of some such comprehensive plan. We incline to the belief that if Great Britain and the United States were in substantial accord on such a plan, Germany would gladly accept, and the continental Allies and their dependent neighbors would, perhaps more reluctantly, agree. Our people are now ready to undertake international cooperation. The world waits and suffers. The time has come to sound the call, to state the aims, and to lay down the essential commitments of such a conference.

We believe that the plan or suggestions here put forth, while in some respects radically at odds with the present temper of Europe, offer the basis of study for the proposed conference. Only a far-reaching plan can avail to save Europe and only America can be the instrument. As war veterans we shall not be content with our service until we see our country pledge again its wealth, power, and ideals, in this practical way, to the service of the common ideals of civilization.

ERNEST ANGELL,
A. A. BERLE, JR.,
W. W. NORTON,
Committee

Unanimously approved by the Willard Straight Post of the American Legion at a meeting held February 15, 1923.

New York City, February 26

Treaty-Breaking in the Saar Basin

THE political parties represented on the Advisory Council of the Saar Basin published on January 2 a formal request to the Council of the League of Nations for the withdrawal of French troops from the district which is technically under the jurisdiction of the League.

The Governing Commission of the Saar Basin in its report of September 22, 1922, to the Council of the League of Nations has taken exception to the note of the German Government dated August 18, 1922, protesting against the presence of French troops in the Saar Basin.

The presence of French troops in the Saar Basin is a violation of paragraph 30 of the Appendix to Section IV [of Part III] of the Treaty of Versailles. It is stated in sentence one of this paragraph that "There will be no military service, whether compulsory or voluntary, in the territory of the Saar Basin, and the construction of fortifications therein is forbidden." And in sentence two: "*Only* a *local* gendarmerie for the maintenance of order may be established." And in its third sentence, the same paragraph states: "It will be the duty of the Governing Commission to provide in all cases for the protection of persons and property in the Saar Basin."

The terms of this paragraph indicate clearly that the Governing Commission has to preserve law and order and to insure the safety of the French mines only by such means as do not conflict with the conditions specifically laid down in sentences one and two. . . . Thus there is not the slightest justification for the maintenance of any troops in the Saar Basin. All these provisions are so clear and unambiguous that the Governing Commission cannot invoke paragraph 33 of the above-mentioned Appendix as its justification.

The Council of the League has itself recognized the binding nature of these provisions. In a resolution drawn up on June 20, 1921, it expressly charged the Governing Commission to organize the local gendarmerie as soon as possible in order to prevent French troops from becoming a permanency there. . . .

The Governing Commission has not organized the local gendarmerie. According to its report of September 22, 1922, it has, in the space of two and a half years, appointed only 155 gendarmes, natives of the Saar district. It has therefore not executed the orders of the Council.

The Commission attempts to justify its non-fulfilment of these orders on the grounds (1) that the particular conditions of the industrial district and the state of mind of the population require at least 4,000 gendarmes to maintain law and order and to protect the French mines; (2) that it would be impossible to raise these 4,000 men in the Saar Basin or, if raised, to pay them owing to the state of the budget; and (3) that even if they could be found and paid, these men, being natives of the district, would not be reliable.

The Governing Commission is never tired of referring to the danger of general strikes accompanied by disorder and looting. From the year of the great miners' strike, 1891, through the year 1918—that is to say in a period of twenty-seven years—no important strike occurred in the basin. Until the arrival of the French troops no disorder or looting has ever occurred in the district. . . . A population of this kind is not inclined to disorder. On the contrary it feels most deeply insulted at the baseless accusation of a tendency to riot, deliberately brought up against it by the Governing Commission.

No population, however peaceful, can sit quietly by when its rights are grossly violated and its national feelings hurt.

The Governing Commission refers to the strikes and disorders of 1919 and 1920. The disorders of October, 1919, were an easily understood protest against the spoliation of the inhabitants by profiteers, mainly foreigners. The French military authorities, who were ruling the country at that time, did nothing to check this profiteering, and it was in the course of this rising of a part of the population that for the first time looting occurred on a very moderate scale. There is no doubt but that the local police could easily have prevented this if they had been given a free hand to deal with it. The strike of officials in August, 1920, was a protest against the violation of the rights of the officials by the Governing Commission. The entire population associated itself with the officials in a twenty-four-hour general strike, which was carried out in perfect order. Thus neither of these two incidents is evidence of any kind against the peaceful character of the Saar population; nor do they prove the claim of the Governing Commission that a police force 4,000 strong is necessary for maintaining order and protecting the mines. . . .

An essential consideration in determining the number of policemen necessary to secure any government against rioting are the good or bad relations between government and governed. If the Governing Commission asks for a force of 4,000 police, it condemns its own policy as one that will never be able to win the loyal support of the population.

This is also the real reason for the manifestly paradoxical position in which the Governing Commission has involved itself. If, as it explains in its report, a local police force of 155 men is sufficient for normal conditions, how does it explain the fact that it has at its disposition a large governmental police force which includes many mounted police? How does it explain the

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Literary Central Europe

❖ ❖ ❖

Ideas are the strongest forces in civilization; they are stronger than facts; they create facts. Central Europe is the traditional home of ideas. And again, as long ago, the literature of Germany and Austria, even of Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia, is a literature of ideas. This does not mean that the literature of Central Europe today lacks either fire or edge, either form or passion. But all passion is centered about ideas. The expressionist and activist movements, for instance, are not created by aesthetic triflers. Eminent poets, novelists, and playrights represent these movements. Creative power and vision are in them. But beneath the creative impulse is the practical impulse to recreate a muddled and stricken world. No one can be said to have come to grapple with the deepest and most intricate problems of the world today who has no contact with the best thinking and writing of Central Europe —with the minds, for instance, that edit and fill such a periodical as the *Neue Rundschau* or with the writings that proceed from the new school of philosophy at Darmstadt or with the works of Thomas Mann or Otto Falke or Rainer Maria Rilke or Franz Werfel.

Another language, moreover, as was said long ago, creates another world. By this other world we can test, rectify, enlarge our own. The possession of at least one other world of that kind is the safest way to tolerance, international understanding, peace. French literature is still productive and will probably be more productive hereafter. Today the great liberals of a former generation are still alive and the great artists as well. There is still Anatole France; there is still Romain Rolland; among the poets there are still Henri de Régnier and such younger men as Vildrac and Duhamel and Guy-Charles Cros and Henri Gilbeaux. But reaction is turning strongly against the currents and the ideas represented by these men. Defeat brings despair, but also freedom from the fear of consequences and inner searching. The contemporary literature of Central Europe is one which no liberal nor any one concerned with the philosophical reconstruction of civilization can afford to neglect.

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presence of the large body of French gendarmerie provided for in the order of June 7, 1920, which is not mentioned in its report? How does it explain its special employment in frontier supervision, passport inspection, police inquiry work, and the political supervision of the population? The French gendarmerie, in flagrant contradiction to the Treaty of Versailles, even supervises the attendance of Saar children at French elementary schools! How does the commission explain, moreover, the competence of French military courts in certain cases to try and condemn civilians, which was provided for by one of its own orders dated June 28, 1921, and again not mentioned in the report? Above all, how does it explain the presence of such a strong force of French troops, consisting of infantry, cavalry, and even artillery? But the most surprising thing is that, according to the Commission's report, a military force which is under the control, not of the League, but of the French Minister of War, is being maintained in a district ruled by the League of Nations!

The Governing Commission maintains that a sufficient number of native gendarmes cannot be recruited in the district. We are convinced that this is contrary to the truth. It is a well-known fact that there are many applicants for this work.

The Governing Commission points out that the creation of a sufficient police force is also impossible for financial reasons and presents calculations of the average cost, which bear no relation to the cost of a normal police force. We know that the population of the Saar Basin is able and willing to defray the cost of an adequate police force if the Governing Commission will abandon a policy opposed to the desires and interests of the population and cease to attempt to render the local officials servile by paying specially high salaries which far exceed the general average.

The Governing Commission asserts that the people originating from the district are unreliable for police work. If this were true, how would any country be able to establish a trustworthy police force? For from first to last every country depends on its own population for its security! . . .

In view of all these circumstances is it to be wondered at that the population is becoming convinced that in any case where the interests of the military come in conflict with those of the population, the former is sure of preferential treatment by the Governing Commission?

The population rightly sees in the unreasonable support given by the commission to the French military authorities the most significant proof of its French bias. The population is firmly persuaded that the real reason for the presence of the French troops is to be found in the support given to the ardent French propaganda energetically carried on in the district, and in the attempt to prepare our German population for annexation to France by intimidation. It is not difficult to understand why France defrays the great cost of maintaining these troops. . . .

Sufficient evidence has been given in the foregoing explanations to prove that the presence of French troops for maintaining law and order and for protecting the mines is without any justification whatever.

The population of the Saar Basin therefore expresses, through us, its elected representatives, the request that the Council of the League of Nations should take steps to have the French troops withdrawn from its country, which is under the League of Nations. The Council of the League would, in granting this request, give effect to one of the most essential rights of the Saar population as definitely laid down in paragraph 30 of the Appendix to Section IV of the Treaty of Versailles.

Signed by the political parties of the Advisory Council of the Saar Basin:

Center Party, KIEFER
Liberal Peoples' Party, SCHMELZER
United Social-Democratic Party, BETZ
Communist Party, HELFGEN
German Democratic Party, SCHEUER

Saarbrücken, January 2, 1923

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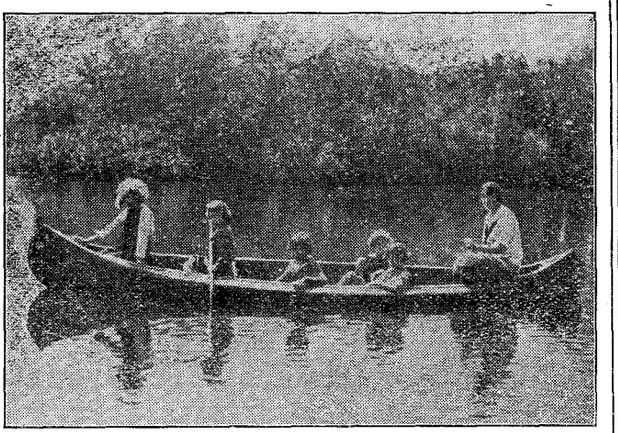

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An Incident of Occupation

THE following order was issued to the German authorities in towns included in the recently occupied zone:

A. Public houses: The surveillance of the German police and medical authorities on public houses will continue under the same condition as before the arrival of the troops of occupation. A certain number of these establishments designated after agreement with the local military authorities will be reserved for the military under the conditions hereinafter specified: (1) They shall be placed under control of the military authorities, which reserve the right to proceed with inspections and to verify the identity of the women who belong to these establishments at any time. (2) Such persons are required to have identification cards with photograph attached. The card shall be stamped at each sanitary inspection by the responsible German doctor and shall be presented by the proprietress to all military clients. (3) Every woman in a public house shall possess the means and apparatus for protection and prophylaxis which is already required by the German police rule, or which may be required by the French authorities. (4) The list of the names of the women in public houses shall be sent as quickly as possible to the general in command of the division, by the police.

B. Street-walker control: The same measure as under (1), (2), (3), and (4) above.

C. Suspected women: (1) Every woman reported by the military authorities shall immediately be arrested by the local police and inspected by the German sanitary corps, which shall make a report. If the woman is recognized as diseased, she shall be put into a hospital provisionally pending the decision of the military authorities. The military authorities shall decide whether she shall be kept in the hospital or expelled. (2) The German police shall keep in constant touch with the provost of the troops of occupation in all questions concerning the health of the troops, and notably to clean up the neighborhood of the barracks and rid them of all women suspected of disease. These operations shall be carried out under the direction of the provost and with the cooperation of the German and French public forces. (3) If the German authorities acting independently and without orders arrest or take any police measure against a woman not attached to a public house or licensed as a street-walker who has relations with Allied soldiers, they shall immediately make a report upon it to the commanding officer of the occupying forces. In any case these measures shall not degenerate into abuse, or take on the character of useless vexations which might hinder the establishment of cordial and sympathetic relations between the civil population and the military authorities. When neither public order, good morals, health, nor the discipline of the troops is threatened the German police shall intervene only after the matter has been referred to the military authorities.

D. Contagious diseases. (1) Every case of contagious or infectious disease must immediately be reported by the local military authorities to the general commanding the troops of occupation. (2) The German authorities shall watch diligently to see that sufficient means of disinfection be placed at the disposition of the military authorities when there may be demand for them.

FOURNIER,
Division-General commanding the 128th Division

Headquarters, Bredeny, January 16, 1923

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